SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS

OF THE

MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

DUTCH RECORDS No. 13.

THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

BEING

A TRANSLATION OF SELECTIONS Nos. 1 AND 2 WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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Dedication

TO

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF COCHIN.

Two hundred and twenty years ago Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, Baron of Mydrecht, sometime Governor of the Dutch Settlements in Malabar, dedicated to one of Your Highness's predecessors the third volume of the "Hortus Malabaricus" or garden of Malabar, one of the most magnificent botanical works ever published; remarking that when he was at his work of collecting, portraying and describing the plants of Malabar he had ever before his mind the presentment of the Prince who had vouchsafed him such valuable assistance in the matter; that he would never forget what he owed that Prince; and had therefore dedicated a volume of the "Hortus Malabaricus" to him in order that His Highness's fame as a Maecenas might be spread throughout the whole world.

I venture to dedicate this little work to Your Highness in grateful acknowledgment of Your Highness's kindness and of the assistance rendered to me by the officers of Your Highness's State, and especially the Diwan, Mr. A. R. Banerji, I.C.S., and the District Magistrate, Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.

PREFACE.

The Dutch records in the Madras Government's record-rooms contain material for a chapter in the history of European enterprise in India. Samples of this material have been published in Dutch in previous volumes of this series. The present volume contains a sample in English.

The series has been published with the view of preserving for the future historian of the Europeans in India material the safety of which in the manuscript form cannot be guaranteed. Also partly in order to bring to public notice the existence of the material.

I began to read the manuscripts three years ago, being at that time interested, in connection with my official work, in the history of the Laccadive Islands and their former rulers, the Ali Rajas or Sea Kings of Cannanore; and it then appeared to me, and I submitted to the Madras Government, that some of the records were worth printing or even worth translating.

The Madras Government undertook the publication of the series at their press, and 15 volumes have now either appeared or are in an advanced state of preparation.

This, the 13th volume of the series, contains translations of the two first. Their translation was begun in the year 1907. But it soon became apparent that accurate translation would not be possible without more knowledge of the history, the organization and the technicalities of the Dutch East India Company than my collaborators or I possessed.

I then undertook a course of reading with the view of qualifying myself for the task. The well-known Dutch man of letters, Mijnheer Maurits Wagenvoort, who has made a special study of the history of the Dutch in the East, and was then travelling in the Madras Presidency, was good enough to advise me what to read, and I have found Mr. M. Nijhoff, book-seller, of the Hague, a serviceable book-purveyor.

On finishing the course of reading I had undertaken, I re-wrote the drafts of translations which had been prepared, and added an introduction and some notes.

The time at my disposal has, however, been very limited, and what I now offer by way of introduction and commentary to these translations is intended merely to indicate to others some of the sources for a history of the Dutch in Malabar—a virgin subject for the historian. The whole work is only a small contribution of material with such aids towards the understanding of it as a person with little leisure for study has been able to collect in a country in which there are no first-class libraries.

It is hoped that the statements made are, as far as they go, accurate. At any rate each statement can be verified by reference to the authority—printed book, manuscript, or living person—which I have been careful to quote for it.

The title of the book perhaps requires explanation. The name "Malabar" is now sometimes by usage proceeding from ignorance confined to the British district of Malabar, the native states of Travancore and Cochin being assumed to be "Travancore" and "Cochin" and not "Malabar". I use "Malabar" of the country of the Malayalam nation; which was, at the time these Dutchmen wrote, all parcelled out into "Native States," what is now the British district of Malabar not being considered then by any one exclusively or peculiarly Malabar.

The responsibility for this volume of the series is entirely mine. It is not published "By Authority" and the Madras Government accept no responsibility for the accuracy of the translation or of the history or for the opinions expressed.

6th February 1910. A. GALLETTI.

POLITICAL MAP OF SOUTH MALABAR A.D. 1740.

INTRODUCTION.

I

The Madras Dutch Manuscripts.

In the year 1795 the Dutch factories and possessions in this Presidency fell into the hands of the East India Company. They comprised three groups, those of the Coromandel Coast, headquarters Pulicat, those of the Madura Coast (as it was called), headquarters Tuticorin, and those of the Malabar Coast, headquarters Cochin. The records of the first two groups existed in the case of Pulicat complete, in the case of Tuticorin incomplete, in the year 1818,[1] but have since disappeared or been removed from India; at any rate they are not to be found in the archives of the Madras Government or the district record offices. The records of Cochin, the headquarter station of the third group, were retained for many years at Cochin, were then transferred to the headquarters of the Malabar Collectorate, Calicut, and finally, transferred to Madras in the year 1891[2].

These records consist of some 1,400 large volumes bound in leather or paper and packets of loose papers. In a list [3] in Dutch, which is not dated but must have been drawn up in 1795, there are 1,648 entries. The Government of Madras, who were not aware of the existence of this list, caused a printed list to be drawn up in English by a Dutchman resident at Madras on the transfer of the records to that station. This list, in the compilation of which five years were occupied, arranges the records in chronological order and calendars a few of the most important of them. The Dutch list of 1795, which arranges the records under their proper headings, such as "Resolutions", "Letters from Batavia", "Translations of letters from Native princes", will also be of use to students who wish to obtain copies of particular documents. Two hundred or more of the volumes or packets which are entered in the list of 1795 are no longer to be found, while a few omissions or probable mistakes have been noticed in that list. Otherwise the records now in the Madras record-room are those listed at Cochin in 1795.

Many of the older records were already missing in 1795. For instance there were then, as now, only a few volumes of letters from Batavia dating back beyond 1757. Time has injured or further injured some of the oldest volumes, a few of which are now entirely illegible; but practically we have the contents of the record-room of a Dutch Chief Factory much in the same condition as they were in at the end of the 18th century while the administration was being carried on.

The history of the Dutch East India Company, which flourished for two centuries and bequeathed a magnificent empire to the nation, is of the greatest interest, but has been obscured by the loss of the great bulk of the Company's records[4]. The publication of the Batavia Diary for many of the years of the 17th century and the volumes of selections of De Jonge and others from what remains in Holland of the Company's archives have thrown light on the transactions of the Supreme Government at Batavia and the history of the Archipelago. But the history of the various out-factories, especially those on the continent of India, and a full account of out-factory administration, have yet to be written. The Cochin records preserved at Madras are a mine of wealth, as yet unexplored, to the student of the history of the Dutch East India Company at its out-factories, and, in a smaller degree, to the historian of India. From them it will be possible, after much preliminary work of perusal, selection and comparison, to draw a fairly complete picture of the administration and finances and historical development of the Dutch Commandery of Malabar, and the historian of India will find in them further material for the history of the West Coast before the rise of the British power.

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[1] De Nederlandsche Factorijen in Voor-Indië in den Aanvang der 19e Eeuw, by P. H. Van der Kemp (Nijhoff, the Hague). It has been ascertained that a few "Memoirs" of Governors of the Coromandel Coast exist at Batavia.

[2] Order of the Madras Government No. 202, Political, dated 17th April 1891.

[3] MS. No. 1629, published as selection Number 6 in this series.

[4] Klerk de Reus, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Administrativen, Rechtlichen und Finanziellen Entwicklung der Nederländisch-Ostindischen Compagnie, Introduction, p. II.

In view of the considerable interest of these records the Madras Government have issued orders that the more important of them should be copied and published, and a few volumes of Selections have already appeared in the original language. This book contains translations in English of the first two volumes of the Selections, in which were published Memoirs or Accounts of their Administration written by two Dutch Chiefs of the Malabar Settlements in the years 1743 and 1781, respectively.

II

"Memoirs" of the Dutch Chiefs of Malabar.

It was one of the salutary rules of the Dutch Company that every Chief of a Settlement should ordinarily, before retiring from his appointment, prepare a memorandum on the administration for the guidance of his successor, who, in view of the great extent of the Company's field of enterprise, would in many cases have no experience of the country, the people or the history of his new station. Accordingly the successive Commandeurs or Governors of the Malabar Coast generally left such a memorandum on record. In a list of the year 1761[1] I find the following "Memoirs" entered :—

(1) Memoir of Hendrik Van Rheede, 17th March 1677.
(2) ,, of Gelmer Vosburg, 18th October 1687.
(3) ,, of Magnus Michelman, 14th January 1701.
(4) ,, of Johannes Hertenberg, 24th December 1723.
(5) ,, of Jacob de Jong, 30th December 1731.
(6) ,, of Adriaan Maten, 12th January 1735.
(7) ,, of Julius Valentijn Stein Van Gollenesse, 1743.
(8) ,, of Reinicus Siersma, 1748.
(9) ,, of Fredrik Cunes, 31st December 1756.

The second, fourth and fifth of these "Memoirs" had already disappeared in 1795.[2] The third, sixth and eighth have since disappeared and the first is now undecipherable, though the volume is in the Madras record office. The earliest remaining "Memoir" is accordingly the seventh, which is the first of the documents translated in this volume.

The following is a list[2] of the "Memoirs" left behind by the Commandeurs who succeeded Cunes :

(10) Memoir of Caspar De Jong, 1761.
(11) ,, of Godefridus Weijerman, 1765.
(12) ,, of Cornelius Breekpot, 28th February 1769.
(13) ,, of Adriaan Moens, 18th April 1781.
(14) ,, of Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek, 15th March 1795.

These last five "Memoirs" still exist and have been, or are being published by the Madras Government in the Dutch language. No. (13) has been selected for translation into English as being by far the most interesting and comprehensive of these works. That place of honour would perhaps have been claimed by the first "Memoir" of all, that of Van Rheede, could it now be read. Stein Van Gollenesse[3] absolves himself from writing a full account of Malabar because Van Rheede had already done it so admirably, and Van Rheede was one of the ablest of the Dutch Company's officials of his time; his memory is kept fresh to this day by the twelve folio volumes of the Hortus Malabaricus or Botany of Malabar. A copy of Van Rheede's Memoir is preserved at the Hague and the existence of another has been brought to my notice by a bookseller. Steps are being taken to obtain copies so that the work may be included in this series.

The translation of all, or even of the valuable part, of the Madras Dutch records, would be a task of immense magnitude. But a sufficiently clear view of Dutch enterprise in India may be obtained by readers who do not wish to make a special study of the subject from these "Memoirs", which were intended to be and to some extent are compendia of the history and administration of the West Coast Settlements. As it was necessary to make a *selection* for translation, two documents of the "Memoir" class have been selected.

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[1] In MS. No. 674. [2] MS. No. 1629. [3] P. 49 *infra*.

The history of Batavia and of the Supreme Government of the Company in India is best studied, not from "Memoirs", but from the Diary maintained at Batavia, in which all events of importance and abstracts of important letters were regularly entered. The Batavia Diary for the year 1663, for instance, is a portly volume of 700 printed pages in which lengthy descriptions, abstracted from despatches received, may be read of the capture of Cochin from the Portuguese and all other important events of the year. And so also persons curious about the history of the English factories on the West Coast would turn for information to the Diaries kept at Tellicherry and Anjengo. But at Cochin the Town Diary does not appear to have been regularly kept. We have volumes only for a few years and these contain little information. Special diaries were maintained for special occasions, for instance for the campaigns of 1717 against the Zamorin and of 1739 against Travancore, and these are of interest. But there is no continuous record of events in the journal form, and the history of the times can best be gathered from the "Memoirs."

The existence of these records has not been altogether unknown. Moens' Memoir is briefly referred to in Major Drury's translation of Canter Visscher's Letters from Malabar (1862) and Dr. Day used translations made for or lent to him of some documents for the account of the Dutch in Malabar given in his "Land of the Permauls" (1866). But Day knew no Dutch and appears to have been ill served by the persons he employed to collect material for him. At any rate his account is defective and not always accurate. It will be sufficient to observe that even his list of Commandeurs of Cochin is incorrect. Dr. Day's account has been followed in Logan's Malabar Manual and other semi-official publications.

III

The Dutch Settlements on the Malabar Coast.

"The Malabar Coast" formed but a small part of the possessions of the Dutch East India Company. The following is a list [1] of the Hoofd-Comptoirs or Chief Factories of the Company in the year 1650.

(1) Moluccas.
(2) Amboina.
(3) Banda.
(4) Macassar (Celebes).
(5) Solor.
(6) Acheen.
(7) Malacca.
(8) West-Coast of Sumatra.
(9) Jambi (Sumatra).
(10) Palembang (Sumatra).
(11) Cambodia.
(12) Martapura.
(13) Quinam.
(14) Arracan.
(15) The Island Mauritius.
(16) The Island Madagascar.
(17) *Malabar.*
(18) Surat.
(19) Mocha.
(20) Persia.
(21) Bassora.
(22) Vingurla (near Goa).
(23) Ceylon.
(24) Siam.
(25) Taijouan (off the island Formosa).
(26) Japan.
(27) Tonquin.
(28) Manilla.
(29) Coromandel.
(30) Pegu.
(31) Bengal.
(32) Batavia.

Most of these places were at that time only commercial residences, not strong places nor territorial possessions held in sovereignty, though in Java the conquest of the kingdom of Jaccatra had already raised the Company to the position of a Sovereign. As might be expected, losses or acquisitions occurred from time to time. No. (25), for instance, Formosa, was lost a few years after, while the absence from the list of that colony with a great future, the Cape of Good Hope, which was not occupied till 1652, will at once be noticed. The list in 1725, 75 years later, reads as follows [2]:—

(1) Moluccas, under a Governor.
(2) Amboina and 10 other islands, under a Governor.
(3) Banda and 9 other islands, under a Governor.
(4) Macassar, under a Governor.
(5) Solor and Timor, under a Chief.

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[1] From the "Instructions" of 1650 quoted by Klerk de Reus, p. 90.
[2] Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien (1726).

(6) Malacca with various subordinate factories in the Malay Peninsula and on the East Coast of Sumatra, under a Governor.
(7) West Coast of Sumatra, under a Chief.
(8) Jambi, under a Chief.
(9) Palembang, under a Chief.
(10) *Malabar, under a Commandeur.*
(11) Surat, under a Director.
(12) Mocha, under a Chief.
(13) Persia (Gombroon), under a Director.
(14) Ceylon, under a Governor, with subordinate Commandeurs at Jaffna and Galle.
(15) Japan (island Desima off Nagasaki), under a Chief.
(16) Coromandel, under a Governor.
(17) Bengal, under a Director.
(18) Batavia, under the Governor-General.
(19) Samarang or North-East Coast of Java, under a Commandeur.
(20) Bantam (Java), under a Chief.
(21) Cheribon (Java), under a Chief.
(22) Cape of Good Hope, under a Governor.

The list of 1725 is shorter than the list of 1650, but the Company had become much more powerful in most of the places mentioned. Whenever a settlement was in charge of a Governor or Commandeur the Dutch maintained forts and an armed force and exercised some sort of sovereign powers. On the other hand the title "Director" (*i.e.* Director of trade) indicates the purely peaceful and commercial status of a settlement and at Surat, in Persia and in Bengal, which were in charge of Directors, the Company were mere tradesmen, as also at Mocha and in Japan, where the factories were in charge of men of inferior standing. Coromandel was in 1725 a Governorship, that is an important settlement with a strong garrison, and Malabar a Commandery, that is also a fortified settlement, though ranking lower in importance; they were only in name identical with the Coromandel and Malabar of the older list of 1650, and in fact comprised very different possessions. By the Malabar of the older list are meant unfortified factories at Cannanore and Cayenculam [1] and perhaps elsewhere [2], while the Malabar of the second list means the strong town of Cochin with territory won from the Portuguese or Native princes and fortresses at Cannanore, Chetwai, Cranganore, and Quilon besides factories or residencies at other places. In 1725 the strong fortified town of Negapatam was the headquarter station of the Coromandel Coast; in 1650 it was still in the possession of the Portuguese.

The Malabar of Stein Van Gollenesse (1743 A.D.) and of Moens (1781 A.D.) is the Malabar of the second list, and one of a score or more possessions of the Dutch East India Company. It is not easy to estimate the relative importance of the various possessions, but it may be observed that the ordinary establishment of Europeans at the Malabar factories in time of peace may be reckoned at some 500 to 800 out of a total of 15,000 to 20,000 Europeans employed by the Company in the East. Malabar was always put down as a possession that did not pay its way [3] and the accounts kept in the East certainly show a considerable loss during the period of its occupation. No separate accounts were however kept for the different settlements of the profit or loss on produce exported to Europe and the Malabar factories, which in the eighteenth century bought one to three million pounds of pepper at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 stivers (pennies) a pound and exported the amount or a portion of it to Europe to be sold at 12 to 20 stivers a pound [4], were not credited with the profits which this trade doubtless represented; and similarly Amboina got no credit for its cloves nor Banda for its nutmegs nor Coromandel for its piece-goods.

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[1] Letter of the Governor-General's Council of Batavia, dated 22nd November 1651, reproduced in Valentijn V, 2-30.

[2] *E.g.*, Ponnani; see treaty with Zamorin in Valentijn V,-2, 26. The Zamorin granted the Dutch permission to build a factory at Ponnani. In 1645 they obtained pepper at Cannanore, Cayenculam, Calicut, Purakad and Quilon (Batavia Diary for 1645, p. 308).

[3] Canter Visscher, Van Imhoff *apud* Dubois, etc.

[4] Authority: MSS. Nos. 137, 593, 745, 1134, etc. So in 1724 A.D. 2,578,650 lbs. of pepper of the invoice value of 352,479 guilders were sent to Holland (MS. No. 137). This works out to $2\frac{3}{4}$ stivers a lb. This pepper was sold in Holland at $14\frac{3}{10}$ stivers a lb.; that is, the price obtained in Holland was more than five times that paid in the East. Pepper reached 20 stivers a lb. in Holland in 1763 (Price list in MS. No. 745). Towards the end of the eighteenth century Raynal reckons that the French could buy pepper in Malabar at 12 sous (6*d.*) a lb. and sell it in France at 25 to 30 sous (Bk. IV, Ch. XXVIII). The Dutch, being stronger in Malabar than their European competitors, then paid only 4*d*. a lb. under a special contract with the King of Travancore.

Subject to this observation the following table [1], in which the profit and loss on each possession is given for the years 1760—8, may be taken as some sort of basis for a judgment of the relative value and importance of different possessions:

Finances of different possessions, 1760—8.

(in guilders at about 11 to an English sovereign.)

Possession.	Territorial Revenues.	Trade Profits.	Total Revenue.	Charges.
(1) Amboina	270,000	262,000	532,000	2,334,000
(2) Banda	218,000	307,000	525,000	1 867,000
(3) Ternate	157,000	122,000	279,000	1,564,000
(4) Macassar	584,000	373,000	957,000	1,848,000
(5) Banjermassing	2,000	99,000	101,000	268,000
(6) Timor	157,000	113,000	270,000	567,000
(7) Malacca	886,000	193,000	1,079,000	1,345,000
(8) Padang (West Coast of Sumatra)	20,000	770,000	790,000	1,210.000
(9) Carek (Persia)	8,000	929,000	937,000	2,786,000
(10) Surat	19,000	6,050,000	6,069,000	1,928,000
(11) *Malabar*	*938,000*	*2,455,000*	*3,393,000*	*3,471,000*
(12) Coromandel	511,000	6,407,000	6,918,000	6,111,000
(13) Bengal	653,000	2,909,000	3,562,000	7,967,000
(14) Ceylon	6,453,000	3,055,000	9,507,000	23,101,000
(15) Cape of Good Hope	1,409,000	324,000	1,733,000	4,125,000
(16) Cheribon	540,000	124,000	664,000	168,000
(17) Bantam	22,000	92,000	114,000	693,000
(18) Samarang (East Coast of Java)	2,315,000	988,000	3,303,000	3,068,000
(19) Batavia	9,318,000	22,000,000	31,318,000	31,373,000

It will be clear that judged on a financial basis Malabar was of little importance in comparison with the great possessions of Java (Nos. 16—19) and Ceylon (No. 14); though it is to be observed that the large figure of twenty-three million guilders or over two million sterling under the Ceylon charges is not normal, but includes the cost of a war of the Dutch with the King of Candy, which went on from 1760 to 1766.

In regard to the home trade during this period Malabar was not a very important possession. The total amount of the profits on the coffee and sugar of Java, tea from China, spices from the Spice Islands, cinnamon from Ceylon, and piece-goods from Surat, Bengal and Coromandel was large in comparison with those on the Malabar staple, pepper, which was also to be obtained from other parts of the Dutch possessions, and a few thousand pounds of Malabar turmeric and cardamoms [2] and a few bales of piece-goods. The Company's sales of Indian products in Holland from 1760—8 averaged a little over 21 million guilders or a little under two millions sterling a year [3], towards which the products of Malabar probably did not contribute more than £60,000 to £100,000 sterling.

IV

Foundation of the Dutch Empire in the East.

The Dutch first came to the East at the close of the 16th century in search of those products which they had been accustomed to procure in the ports of the Iberian peninsula before their revolt against Spain, with which Portugal was then united. It was part of the policy of the Portuguese to keep their charts of the Eastern Seas secret and to permit no information regarding the route to be published. But it was in fact impossible to conceal such knowledge. The Dutchman Linschoten, who proceeded to the East in 1583 in the train of the Archbishop of Goa, published a book [4] in 1592 and communicated valuable information, while on the 17th April 1592 the bookseller Cornelis Claesz of Amsterdam informed the States-General that he had obtained twenty-five charts of the African, Indian and Chinese seas from the

[1] From the Memoir of the director of the Company in Holland C. Van der Oudermeulen quoted by Klerk de Reus, p. 209.

[2] So in 1726 A.D. 25,000 lb. of Malabar turmeric and 12,450 lb. of Malabar cardamoms were sent to Holland. The profits were not, as in the case of pepper, enormous; in 1726 the increase in value was only 75 per cent. in the case of turmeric and 45 per cent. in the case of cardamoms (MS. No. 137).

[3] Klerk de Reus, Appendix V (*b*).

[4] An English translation has appeared in the Hakluyt Series (1884).

scholar Peter Plancius, who in his turn had procured them from the cosmographist Bartolomeo de Lasso, who occupied an official position in Spain. Several companies were soon afterwards formed in the Netherlands and several expeditions were sent to the East; the names of the companies, of the commanders of the expeditions, the number of the ships under their command, and the dates of their departure and return are shown in the following table [1]:—

Table of early Dutch voyages to the East.

Serial number.	Company.	Commander.	Number of ships.	Date of departure.	Date of return.
1	Company Van Verro (of distant parts), Amsterdam.	Houtman	4	2-4-1595	14-4-1597
2	Old Company, Amsterdam ..	S. C. Van Neck	8	1-5-98	July 1599-Sept. 1600
3	Moucheron's Company, Veere.	Houtman	2	15-3-98	29-7-1600
4	Company of Middleburg ..	G. Leroy and L. Bikker ..	3	1598	1600
5	Do. ..	J. Mahu & S. deCordes ..	5	1598	1601
6	Do. ..	O. deNoort	4	1598	1601
7	Old Company, Amsterdam ..	S. Van der Hagen	3	1599	1601
8	New Brabant Company, Amsterdam.	P. Both	4	1599	1601
9	Old Company, Amsterdam .	J. Wilkens	4	1599	1601
10	Do. ..	Van Neck	6	1600	1602-4
11	New Brabant Company, Amsterdam.	G. Seneschal	2	1600	1601
12	Company of Middleburg ..	C. Bastiaanz	4	1601	1602-3
13	United Company, Amsterdam.	J. Van Heemskerck	8	1601	1602-4
14	Do. ..	W. Harmensz	5	1601	1603
15	Moncheron's Company, Veere.	J. Van Spilbergh	3	1601	1604
			65		

These expeditions [2] visited the Archipelago, not the Indian mainland. On the 20th of March 1602 the various Companies were united under the name of De Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie or General Chartered East-Indian Company and were granted a monopoly by the States-General. The United Company's existence continued for nearly two centuries. Though the earlier expeditions did not visit the Indian mainland, factors were despatched by native ships to Guzerat as early as the year 1602 from a factory which the Middleburg Company's expedition of 1601 (No. 12) had founded at Acheen in Sumatra. In a letter [3], dated 20th April 1602, these factors announced their arrival at Surat after a voyage of 2 months and 6 days, of which 5 days were spent in the Maldives, and reported that business could be done with the Maldives, with Guzerat, and with Malabar, merchants from which last region had informed them that there were many places in their country where there were no Portuguese, and the Dutch might build a fort. These factors later proceeded from Surat to Calicut, but were seized by the Portuguese, taken to Goa, and hanged [4].

In 1603 the new United Company sent out a great expedition of 13 ships with close on a million guilders worth on board under Steven van der Hagen. He was specially ordered to visit the West Coast of India, and mention is made in the instructions [5] furnished to him of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masulipatam on the East Coast. In 1604 the fleet touched at Cannanore, Calicut and Chetwai and Van der Hagen concluded a treaty of alliance [6], dated 11th November 1604, with the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese. The Dutch were to be allowed to build a fort at Calicut. The first Dutch factories in India seem, however, if the short-lived factory founded at Surat in 1602 be excepted, to have been at Masulipatam and Petapuli

[1] Roland Bonaparte, Les premiere voyages des Néerlandais dans l'Insulinde (1884). The Resolution of the States-General and other documents proving these facts are printed in the first volume of de Jonge's collection. Plancius got 300 guilders for his trouble and the bookseller the exclusive right of printing the maps.

[2] A bibliography of the very interesting journals and voyages of the early Dutch navigators was published by F. Muller, Amsterdam in 1867; and many of important documents regarding these expeditions are printed in De Jonge, Vols. I-III.

[3] Printed at p. 495, Vol. II, De Jonge.

[4] De Jonge III, 32.

[5] Printed at p. 150, Vol. III, De Jonge.

[6] Pointed at p. 294, Vol. III, De Jonge.

(now Nizampatam, Repalli Taluk, Guntur District), where factors had been left by the yacht "Delft", which van der Hagen had detached from his fleet, in 1605 and 1606 respectively[1]. One of the factors was sent to the court of the King of Golconda and obtained a Firman[2], dated August 1606, permitting the Dutch to trade in his dominions. In 1607 there was again a Dutch factor at Surat, but he was as unfortunate as his predecessors; he was seized and conveyed to Berhampore and committed suicide[3]. In 1608 or 1609 a factory was founded at "Tegnapatnam" (Dévanápatnam, near the present European Club, Cuddalore) on the East Coast with the permission of the "King" (properly Naick under Vijanagar) of Jinji[4] but it was soon removed to a house "made of blue freestone 165 feet long by 74 broad" in the native fort at Tirupapuliyur, "two Dutch miles inland", *i.e.*, near what is now Cuddalore New Town[5]. In 1610 a further Firman was obtained from the "King" of Jinji and the factory at Pulicat was founded[6]. In 1615 a fort called the "Castle of Gueldres" was built at Pulicat[7], which became the Company's head-quarters on the Coromandel Coast, with numerous further subordinate factories in the Northern Circars, Hyderabad, Orissa, Bengal, Pegu, Arracan. For instance, for a few years before the kingdom of Golconda fell before Aurungzebe there was a factory at Golconda and another at Nagulawamsa, half-way between Masulipatam and Golconda, there were factories and bleaching-grounds for many years at Palcole in the Kistna, Draksháráma in the Godavari and Bimlipatam in the Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency and the factory at Hugli had several sub factories in the interior of the great province of Bengal. Meanwhile the factory at Surat had been re-established with sub-factories at Broach, Ahmedabad, Agra and other places and the Dutch agents from the West Coast penetrated as far as Lucknow and Benares in search of commodities[8].

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese still occupied Ceylon and the southern part of the Indian peninsula was still encircled by their strong places, St. Thomé near Madras, Negapatam, Manar, Quilon, Cochin, Cranganore, Cannanore, Mangalore, Basrur, Honawar and Goa.

V

The taking of Cochin from the Portuguese.

The Dutch could legitimately pursue a policy of aggression because Spain, with which Portugal was then united, was from time to time at war with them. Their first determined efforts, however, were not directed against the Portuguese strongholds on the *terra firma* of India. They harried the Portuguese on the seas, and endeavoured to drive them out of the Archipelago, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. Colombo and Singapore are now two of the great ports in the world; Ceylon and Malacca were even then keys to the trade of the East. Spain received warnings from the Portuguese Viceroy and urgent requests for ships and men and money[9], but such fleets as Spain could fit out were for the most part wanted in South American waters. The Dutch had obtained a footing in Ceylon in 1610[10], and took Malacca on the 14th of January 1641. Portugal had successfully rebelled against Spain in December 1640 and concluded a Treaty[11] with the States-General on the 12th of June 1641, under which there was to be an armistice in India for ten years; but disputes occurred regarding its application and the Dutch continued to strengthen their position in Ceylon till 1644. At the end of 1652[12] they renewed the attack on the Portuguese forts in the island. The Portuguese were a weak and poor nation with many interests to defend. The new king was chiefly concerned with maintaining himself against his neighbour of Spain. He had other wars to wage in Brazil

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1 De Jonge III, 40-1.
2 Printed at p. 213, De Jonge III.
3 De Jonge III, 35.
4 De Jonge III, 76. The Firman, dated 30th Nov. 1608, is printed at p. 281.
5 Documents at pp. 339-345, De Jonge III.
6 Documents at pp. 339 and 348, De Jonge, Vol. III.
7 Valentijn -V-1.
8 Firman from he Great Mogul at p. 299 *seq.* Batavia Diary, Volume for 1663.
9 Danvers, the Portuguese in India (1894), II, 266.
10 Treaty on pp. 350-2, De Jonge, Vol. III.
11 Abstract of the Treaty is given by Danvers II, 274.
12 Report of His Worship the Governor A. Van der Meyden, dated 20th September, 166 *apud* Valentijn V-1 (3), 43.

and in Africa. In the East the Portuguese had many more strongholds than they could adequately garrison, and the Dutch were not the only enemy. In 1652 their forts in Canara, which they had not sufficient means to keep in repair, had been attacked by the Chief of Bednore. In 1654 the king of Bijapur marched against Goa. Though they made a determined resistance in Ceylon from 1652 to 1656, their forces were inadequate. They had only 500 Europeans in Colombo at the beginning of its siege by the Dutch, nor was it well fortified [1]. Colombo fell on the 12th of May 1656. On the 16th of December Major Van der Laen, the chief military officer who had been engaged in the siege, arrived at Batavia with despatches from the Governor of Ceylon [2], but no further measures were taken till on the 1st of July 1657 there arrived the Right Worshipful Rijklof van Goens, Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, in command of the ships from home [3]. He had commanded in Ceylon before and had been home on leave. In a council held a few days later [4] it was decided to appoint Van Goens Admiral of the fleet and High Commissioner over the Governments of Coromandel, Ceylon and Malacca, the Directories of Surat and Bengal and the factory of Vingorla in order to complete the destruction of Portuguese power in Ceylon and on the coasts of India.

Of the many able servants of the Dutch Company Rijklof van Goens was one of the most distinguished. He arrived at Batavia with his father, who was in the military service first of the States-General and then of the Company, in 1629, at the age of ten. Two years later, his parents having died, he was sent to the Coromandel Coast and was taken care of and trained by Arent Gardenijs, Governor of the Coast. He passed through the usual posts of assistant, under-merchant and merchant. Between 1648 and 1654 he was frequently selected for duty as envoy to native princes. In 1649 he was a Judge of the High Court at Batavia. In 1653 he was appointed to command an expedition to Ceylon and the West Coast of India, and in 1654 took or destroyed many Portuguese ships. He became an extraordinary member of the Supreme Council in the same year, and now on return from two years' leave at home, he was selected for the command of the very important expedition which was finally to displace the Portuguese from their old position of arbiters of the commerce of the East. He had served the Company in a variety of capacities for 26 years and was then 38 years of age [5]. Twenty years later he was appointed Governor-General, and Valentijn [6] describes him as at that time: "Slender of form, moderately stout, very handsome and rather tall, stately, fresh and still youthful, with long grey hair curling handsomely, as indeed he was in all parts a well-made Heer".

Major van der Laen accompanied him, but was under his orders [7]. "Major" seems to have been at that time the highest grade in the Company's military service, but it was the practice to place a distinguished member of the politico-commercial service in supreme command of important expeditions.

The fleet sailed from Batavia on the 6th of September 1657 [8]. By the 10th of January 1658, 9 ships, 2 sloops, and 8 large dhonies to carry ammunition, etc., with some 1,500 men had been collected at Colombo [9]. On the 1st of February the fleet proceeded to Tuticorin, which it took, on the 20th to the island of Manar, where the fort with 181 men was captured on the 22nd. On the 1st of March van Goens crossed over and marched to Jaffna. He took the fort of "Cais" on a small island not far from Jaffna on the 27th of April [10] and laid siege to the castle of Jaffna. No help came from Goa, which was blockaded by a Dutch fleet, and the castle fell on the 22nd June after more than 1,600 of the persons within had died or been killed. Negapatam was captured on the 1st of August. Van Goens then sailed to Pulicat, the Dutch head-quarters on the Coromandel Coast and returned *viâ* Jaffna and Manar to Colombo, where he arrived on the 3rd of November. Finding everything in good

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1 Danvers from Portuguese sources.
2 Batavia Diary, Volume for 1656–7, p. 43.
3 Batavia Diary, Volume for 1656–7, p. 203.
4 Diary, p. 213.
5 The dates are from notes made by Van Goens himself, apparently for family use, and published in a pamphlet by P. A. Leupe (to be obtained from Nijhoff, the Hague).
6 Valentijn IV-1, 309.
7 Diary, 1657, p. 255.
8 Diary, p. 257.
9 Van der Meyden's Report of 1660 *apud* Valentijn.
10 Van der Meyden read with Baldaeus, who was present.

order, he started again for Malabar, took the Portuguese stronghold of Quilon on the 29th of December [1], and proceeded to Cannanore, where he received orders to send back 500 men to Batavia and undertake nothing more for the time being [2]. He then returned to Ceylon, leaving a considerable garrison at Quilon, which was, however, soon invested by "3,000 Portuguese and some thousand Nairs" according to Van der Meyden, Governor of Ceylon, who proceeded to Quilon and withdrew the garrison on the 14th of April, 1659. On the 27th of June the Batavia Council resolved that "another considerable fleet" should be equipped to attack the Portuguese on the coast of India and keep the bar of Goa closed to prevent the Portuguese sending reinforcements to Ceylon or appeals to Europe [3]; and on the 25th of January, 1660, van Goens and the fleet again sailed for Malabar [4]. The Batavia Diary for 1660 is missing, but it appears from an entry under the 26th of January, 1661, that van Goens gave up the idea of an attempt on Quilon and Cochin for that year and considered an attempt on S. Thomé. However at the beginning of 1661 six ships and 1,200 men were assembled in Ceylon and despatched under the Governor Van der Meyden, to join five more ships and a sloop which were already cruising off Malabar. On the 10th of February he was at Ayacotta, the northern "hook" of the strip of land called by the Dutch the Island of Vypeen, which stretches from the Cochin to the Cranganore passage from the sea to the backwater. The spot is one of great historic interest. Cranganore (Kudangalur) said to have been formerly Muyiricodu [5], has been confidently identified with the Muziris of the ancients, "the greatest emporium of India" according to Pliny the Elder [6], which stood "on a river two miles from its mouth", according to the Periplus Maris Erythraei, the river being known as the Pseudostomos or False Mouth, a correct translation of Alimukam, as the mouth of the Periyar is still called [7]. The Greek or other traders of the Roman Province of Egypt were probably as familiar as the Portuguese with the low land or islands fringed with cocoanut trees to the water's edge of the river and lagoons about Cranganore. These lagoons were the first settlement of the Portuguese when they re-discovered India and established themselves almost simultaneously at Cochin near one passage into the backwater and near Cranganore at Palliport, where the well-preserved remains of their small three-storied octagonal castle built in 1507 A.D.[8] are still to be seen. At Ayacotta, near Palliport, Van der Meyden met the heir of the Zamorin of Calicut and the King of Cranganore and later on the Zamorin in person, and it was agreed to attack the Portuguese forts of Palliport and Cranganore, to divide the loot if the attack should be successful, the Dutch to keep Christian captives, all Portuguese priests to be expelled, the forts to be pulled down, expenses to be shared, the land revenue and other taxes to be shared, the Dutch to administer justice, the Dutch to have all pepper at a fixed price except one-third which the native chiefs or their merchants should keep for their own trade.

Palliport lay about fifteen miles from Cochin along the backwater and commanded the estuary of the Periyar river on its left bank while the fort of Cranganore commanded it on the right bank. On the 15th of February, 1661, his Worship Van der Meyden landed his troops and had a skirmish, in which he lost a few men, with a Nair force. On the 16th he marched along the shore towards "the great fortress" of Palliport; clearly not the little octagonal castle of 1507, but probably a block of buildings serving also as a seminary of which the construction was begun shortly after 1600 A.D.[9]. The Portuguese had only 100 to 150 Europeans and 200 Nairs there. The Dutch brought up two twelve-pounders and a mortar and constructed an

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[1] Batavia Diary, Volume for 1659, p. 43.
[2] Van der Meyden in Valentijn; Batavia Diary, 1659, p. 55.
[3] Batavia Diary, 1659, p. 128.
[4] Van der Meyden in Valentijn V-1 (3), 148.
[5] So identified, *e.g.*, in Jewish translation of early charter given on p. 195 below and in V. Kanakasabhai Pillai's "Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago", Madras, 1904, page 16, where the very ancient Tamil poet Erukkadur Tayankannanar is quoted in support of the identification.
[6] Natural History, VI, 26.
[7] Malabar Gazetteer, p. 31.
[8] Gaspar Correa I, p. 737.
[9] P. Iarrici Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum, 1615, II (2) 225—I follow Van der Meyden's own account abstracted in Batavia Diary, 1661, p. 99 *seq.*, and the expression "great fortress" occurs there. Letters to Holland of 1725-6 in MS. No. 148 and an inscription still preserved show that the date of the Leper Asylum built or adapted on the spot (walls 4 feet thick) by the Dutch was 1728 A.D. This use preserved the site when the remaining sites on Vypeen were sold to Travancore in 1789, and the Leper Asylum still exists, is maintained by the British Government, and forms a little enclave in **Native State** Territory.

entrenchment south of the fort for security against forces coming from Cochin. Meanwhile the Portuguese fled by the backwater before the Dutch sloops had advanced far enough to be able to stop them. Three hundred to 500 Portuguese with 4,000 to 5,000 Nairs had set out by land and backwater from Cochin, but were too late. The Dutch were in possession of the fort.

A few days later Van der Meyden handed over Palliport to the Zamorin and returned to Colombo. Palliport and Cranganore forts were the keys to Cochin, but the Portuguese had been strengthening Cochin and Cranganore, and it was thought too late to do anything more that season. The fleet set off on the 5th of March and arrived at Colombo on the 26th, leaving some ships at Cayenculam to protect the Company's factory there. Letters were despatched to Batavia on the 5th of April. Van der Meyden was of opinion that it was not advisable to make any attempt on Cochin which was very strongly garrisoned. Van Goens thought it was necessary, in order to consolidate the recent conquests and secure the pepper and wild cinnamon of Malabar, to take both Cochin and Quilon. He added: "In every case, even if our Nation should make peace with the Crown of Portugal, the design on Cochin must be kept in mind [1]." Meanwhile he first proposed to make an attempt on S. Thomé [2], and the Governors of Coromandel and Ceylon were both of opinion that the opportunity should be seized to wrest that stronghold from the Portuguese before peace should be made. Van der Meyden thought it should then become the headquarters of the Coromandel Coast, while Governor Pit of Coromandel was in favour of keeping the headquarters at Pulicat. These designs came to nothing. S. Thomé was taken under his special protection in 1661 by the king of Golconda, who forbade the Dutch to attack it [3], seized by the French in 1672 [4], taken by the Dutch with some assistance from the king of Golconda after a year's siege on the 6th of September 1674 [5]. The Dutch then suggested to the king of Golconda that the fort and town should be destroyed, and with some difficulty got him to agree to this, and in October 1675 some thousands of natives were engaged in the demolition under his orders [6]. There was however a Portuguese colony there in 1749, when it was occupied by the English Company in spite of Portuguese protests, for the reasons explained in the following remarks of the Company's local agents [7]: "St. Thomé appears to us a place of very great consequence, its contiguousness to Madras, should it be in other hands, would greatly "prejudice us, as it would affect our sea and land customs, investment and private "trade, and be an asylum for our military, who would frequently desert. What "pretensions the Portuguese can have to it we cannot perceive; it has been under "the Moors for many years; they have not had any government, levied customs, nor "hoisted colours there, but such as the ecclesiastics made use of to decorate their "festivals."

Momentous consequences might possibly have ensued if the Dutch, then so powerful in the East, had in 1661 carried out their design and made S. Thomé, two miles from Madras, the headquarters of their important Governorship of the Coromandel Coast. When they took Cochin two years later they found an English factory at Purakad in the neighbourhood. They informed the English factors that they must leave. The English declined to move, but the native princes were afraid of the Dutch, and the Prince of Purakad offered "to cut off all the trade" of the English factors or "if that did not satisfy" the Dutch, "to have them all killed straight away [8]." They were in fact not allowed to trade and finally in 1665, war having broken out in Europe between England and Holland, the English factory was seized by the Dutch and the one remaining factor deported [9]. In the same year the Dutch Governor of Coromandel announced his readiness to attack Madras and was making enquiries about its defences [10].

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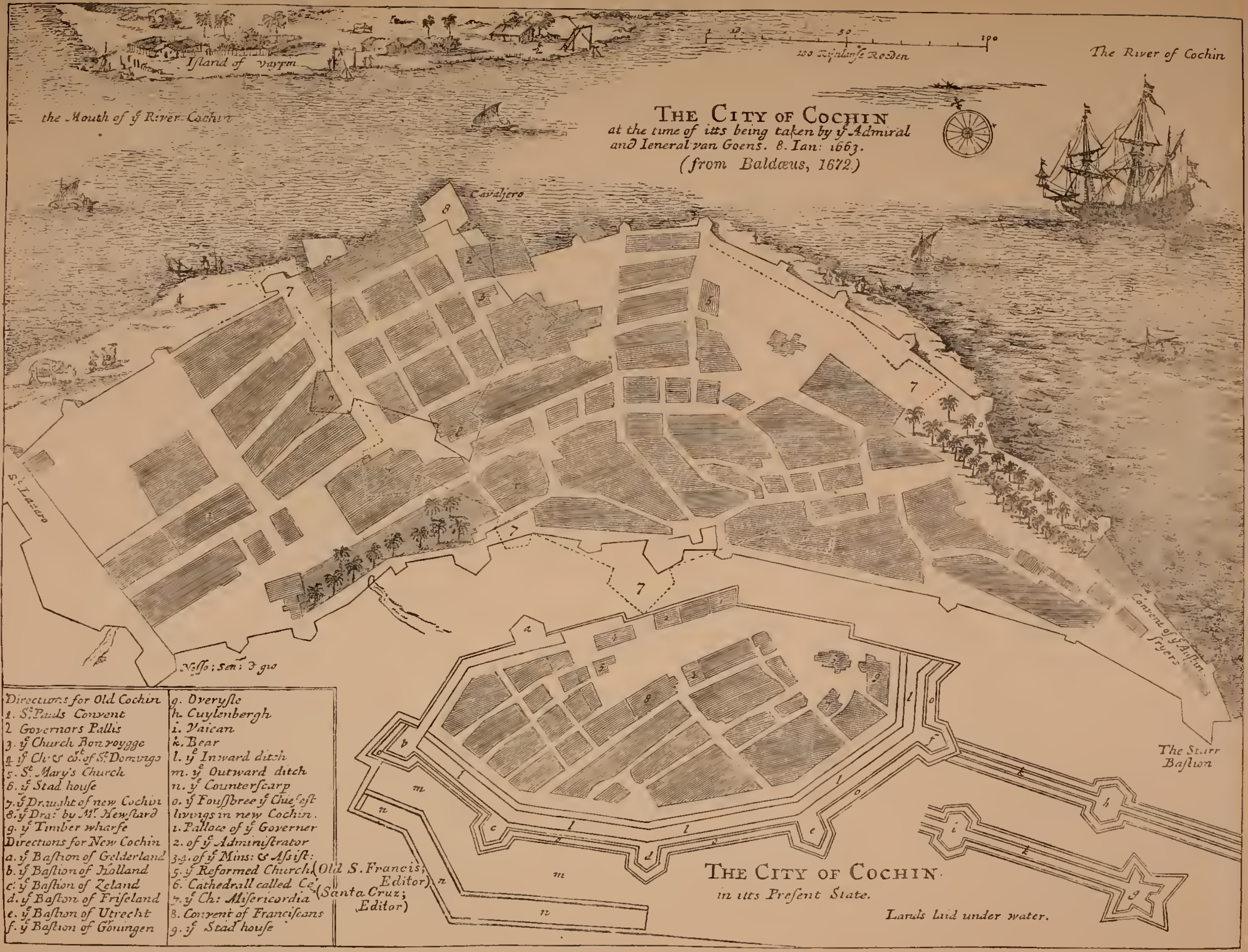
1 Batavia Diary, 1661, pp. 117-8.
2 Batavia Diary, 1661, p. 121.
3 Batavia Diary, 1661, pp. 323-4, 343-5, 402-3, 407.
4 Batavia Diary, 1672, p. 325.
5 Batavia Diary, 1674, p. 300 *et sequitur*, where the articles of capitulation will be found.
6 Batavia Diary, 1675, pp. 106, 297
7 Letter of Governor and Council of Fort St. David, dated 6th August 1751.
8 Batavia Diary, 1665, p. 145 and 1663, p. 573.
9 (*a*) Batavia Diary, 1665, pp. 360, 410.
(*b*) Forrest's selections from Bombay Records, Home series I, p. 27.
10 Batavia Diary, 1665, p. 331.



OLD PLAN OF COCHIN

The actual course of events was as follows. The reply [1], despatched on the 3rd of June, 1661, of the Batavia Government to Van Goens' communication was to the effect that "the design on S. Thomé should be taken in hand and the place kept "after being captured, the seat of Government being removed thither from Pulicat, "or in case of difference of opinion, Their Right Worshipfuls' further orders to be "awaited." However on the 10th of August they received advices from home that peace was likely to be made with Portugal very shortly. Next day they held an extraordinary meeting of Council and it was resolved that it was too late to send a force to seize Macao in China, on which they had had designs, and that all forces, including ships of war coming from Holland, should be concentrated in the gulf of Manar [2]. On the 14th instructions were sent to Van Goens to try and seize all the Portuguese settlements on the West Coast from Cape Comorin northwards, "Quilon, Cochin, Cannanore and then Goa and Diu and whatever other places the Portuguese may still possess there [3]." Their Right Worshipfuls said nothing more about the design on S. Thomé and were perhaps of opinion that there was no time for it. Meanwhile the Governor of Coromandel had received a letter from the King of Golconda in which he said S. Thomé should be left alone "as it belonged to himself and no one else," and both the Governor and Van Goens were of opinion it would be better to give up the design because Golconda's favour was worth preserving. It was thought to be "beyond doubt that the king had taken upon himself the protection of the Portuguese for fear that the Company's power should grow too great in his land." "His Majesty's standard was set up in the town, but the keys were still kept by the Portuguese [4]." Attempts were made to move the King of Golconda from his purpose and Van Goens proceeded to Pulicat. There on the 1st of September 1661 he received the orders from Batavia for the campaign on the West Coast, and on the 5th he set sail for Ceylon [5]. He collected troops from the garrisons on the way and arrived at Colombo on the 3rd of October. A fleet of 24 ships was collected. [6] On the 20th of November it touched at Tuticorin and took in provisions. Further on a number of flat boats, to be used for disembarking, were requisitioned, and four vessels were detached to lie before Quilon, where they arrived on the 1st of December. On the 5th the whole fleet was before Quilon and on the 7th the troops, to the number of some 4,000 including 27 companies of European soldiers, disembarked. In an encounter with a Nair force next day they lost 13 men killed and about 30 wounded, while "the ways and fields were sown with dead Malabaris [7]." The Portuguese abandoned the town, and the Dutch entered it. They found the principal streets and buildings, except the churches, fallen into ruins, over-grown everywhere, and for inhabitants toads, snakes and centipedes [8]. There were seven fine churches built of brick, large and well-adorned. Van Goens then, after busying himself for some days with putting Quilon in better condition for defence, sailed for Cranganore leaving three ships before Cochin. He arrived in the roadstead outside the Cranganore estuary on the 1st of January 1662, landed on the 2nd, approached the Portuguese town early on the morning of the 3rd while the church bells were ringing for mass and finding the fortifications strong, undertook a regular siege. The commissariat was at first defective and Surgeon Schouten [9], author of the well-known book of travels, who was present, says he never suffered so much hunger in all his journeys. The Zamorin sent a body of Nairs to the assistance of his allies. They served in the trenches with a fairly good grace in the heat of the tropical day when the Portuguese fire slackened, but would not enter them at night. Their musketry was very poor; they did not even aim. After a fortnight's siege the Dutch determined to storm the place on Sunday the 15th of January, 1662. The Portuguese, especially the Commandant, Urbano Fialho Ferreira, fought courageously according to Schouten. Finally, however the Commandant fell pierced with wounds, and the

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[1] Batavia Diary, 1661, p. 168. [2] Diary, 1661, pp. 253–255. [3] Diary, 1661, p. 257.

[4] Diary, 1661, pp. 323–4. [5] Diary, 1661, p. 400.

[6] From this point I chiefly follow Schouten, Surgeon in the Company's service, who accompanied the expedition, the Diary for 1662 being missing. Baldacus was a chaplain on the fleet. His account has been compared, as also those of Father Giuseppe di Santa Maria, who was in the neighbourhood and of Nieuhof and Van Goens, Junior, also both present.

[7] Schouten, edition of 1740, I, 193.

[8] Schouten I, 194. Nieuhof however, who became Resident at Quilon shortly after, expresses admiration for the Portuguese buildings, public and private (Nieuhof II, 121). Of the Europeans who have come East, the Portuguese alone have been builders.

[9] Schouten I, 204.

garrison then retired to the great church of the Jesuits and there surrendered. The assault had cost the Portuguese about 120 Europeans besides a large number of Nairs, slaves and others. The Dutch lost about 70 men dead, among them several good officers [1]. The "castle" of Cranganore, the remains of which may still be seen, was a strong fort commanding the entrance to the Periyar river and the backwaters on three sides, but the Portuguese had also to defend an extensive town. Cochin troops assisted the Portuguese who put down the loss of the place to the "treachery" of the Cochin hereditary general, Paliat Achan [2].

At Cranganore the Dutch found "a noble college of the Jesuits with a fine library attached to it, a Franciscan church and a stately cathedral adorned with the tombs of the archbishops of the place". There were in all seven churches, but the place, like Quilon, showed traces of Portuguese decadence [3]. Nothing now remains of these buildings or the Portuguese town. The stones have been used to guard the cocoanut plantations along the backwaters from erosion.

Van Goens next marched towards Cochin along the island of Vypeen,[4] and built a fort near a large church on the island from which Cochin could be bombarded. There he left 400 men and embarked again to attack the town from the other side. The claimant to the throne of Cochin whom the Dutch favoured came on board. He was a handsome young man, covered with jewels, and understood Portuguese very well. Van Goens landed some miles south of Cochin and marched along the shore northwards till he reached a great church (church of St. Iago) in a clump of cocoanut trees in the open country three or four miles from the town. There he rested the night. Next day, after passing close under the walls of the Portuguese town, he marched on to the native town and stormed the palace of the reigning Queen, who favoured the Portuguese. In this affray Hendrik Van Rheede, afterwards Governor of Cochin and compiler of the famous *Hortus Malabaricus*, distinguished himself. On the first Sunday in February (the 5th) an assault was made on the town, but failed, the leader of the storming party losing his life and Van Goens receiving a ball on the gold buckle of his hat. Trenches were then dug and the siege continued for three weeks, during which not a day passed without attacks or sorties. Meanwhile the besieged received supplies from without; this is mentioned by Schouten [5], and Father Giuseppe di S. Maria gives a long account of the adventures of a reinforcement from Goa which landed at Purakad [6]. In that intricate system of backwaters it was found impossible to guard all approaches.

The Dutch forces before the town were reduced to 1,400 men, the number of their sick increased every day, and they were short of many necessaries. In these circumstances Van Goens thought it best to give up the siege. He embarked on the night of the second of March, 1662, leaving garrisons in the new fort on the island of Vypeen and at Cranganore, as also at Quilon.

Van Goens spent the monsoon ill at Batavia [7], and when the fleet started from Batavia as usual in August he had not recovered sufficiently to take the command, which was entrusted provisionally to his Worship Jacob Hustaert, formerly Governor of Amboina.

Cochin lies on a spit of land bounded on the east and north-east by an extensive backwater, on the north by a channel through which the backwater communicates with the sea between the spit and the island of Vypeen, on the west by the sea. Portuguese Cochin occupied a segment, being about one-third of a circle, of which the central part of the arc faced Vypeen, while the chord was a wall running nearly north-east and south-west dividing it from Native Cochin. On the south the sector did

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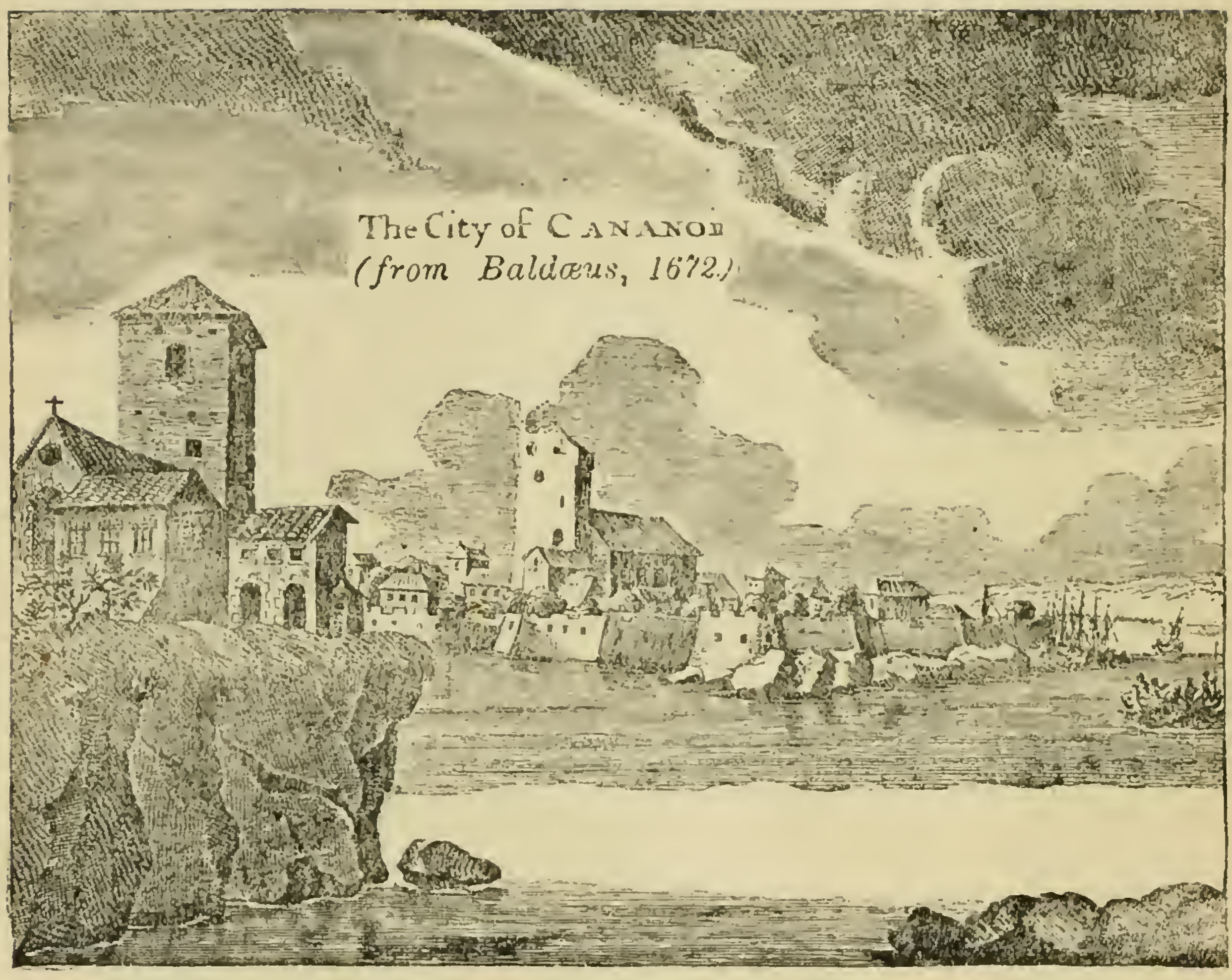
[1] Baldaeus says the Dutch lost 3 Captains, 1 Lieutenant and 78 men, the Portuguese 200 Christians. Rijklof Van Goens the Younger, in notes for family use published by P. A. Leupe, says the Portuguese casualties were about 150 dead and 300 prisoners. Van Goens the Younger was present (Schouten).

[2] Giuseppe di S. Maria, Seconda Speditione, p. 97.

[3] Baldæus I, chapter 18; Schouten, I, 265.

[4] The strip of land along the coast between Cochin and Cranganore. Following the Dutch I apply the name to the whole strip or island.

[5] Schouten I, 222. [6] Seconda Speditione, p. 104. [7] Schouten II, 2; Valentijn V (2), 33.



PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF CANNANORE.

not continue quite till it met the arc on the sea, but the incomplete arc and chord were joined by a wall, facing the land, about a quarter of a mile long[1]. The incomplete chord was about a mile long. The Portuguese had thus a mile and a quarter of land front in a direct line and about the same of water front to defend, or following the walls and bastions, considerably more. The Portuguese had taken advantage of the respite to remove all houses and cocoanut trees round about the fort[2]. A ditch had been dug along the land wall and the bastions there had been strengthened by outworks of palisades. The town was well furnished with victuals and the backwater had lain open for the arrival of supplies from Goa, the entrance to it from the sea being commanded by the Portuguese guns.

Between the 2nd and 14th of November 1662 Hustaert set up batteries which played on a bastion on the shore and on the bastion San Lazaro at the corner of the quarter of a mile of land wall facing south. He also had a detachment at the opposite end of the town by the backwater on the north-east. On the 14th Van Goens arrived from Ceylon with a body of "lascorins" or Native Ceylon troops, and on the 24th some "Canarin" (or Konkani) troops arrived from the important[3] Dutch settlement of Vingorla. These native troops were found useless for digging trenches before the continuous musket fire of the enemy, but were employed in preparing palisades and fascines, bringing up cannon and other work. Meanwhile the fortifications were being approached, beginning from the south-west by the sea and from the north-east by the backwater, not without considerable loss of European troops, by means of trenches. The work of digging trenches in the part between, that is opposite the mile of wall facing south-east, was particularly difficult as the land was marshy and full of the stumps of the trees which the Portuguese had cut down. Then in the last half of December it rained incessantly and the trenches were ruined in places and filled up with water in others.

To stop the arrival of supplies by the backwater, especially from Purakád, the little fort Castello six miles south of Cochin in the backwater was occupied and a few vessels were passed into the backwater through the narrow entrance between Vypeen and the fortifications on a dark night, the native allies of the Portuguese were attacked, and islands and points on the lagoon behind Cochin occupied.

Meanwhile the works were repaired in spite of the rain; three batteries played on the fortifications from the sea-shore, where Hustaert was quartered, four on San Lazaro, where Van Goens lay, and three more at Calvetty on the north-east by the back-water, where the arc and the southern sector met and Cochin tapered into a point; 28 guns in all were employed.

The Portuguese expected the final assault to be made at Calvetty and constructed a new bastion there of earth and palisades. The Dutch had meanwhile advanced to the church of Nossa Senhora de Gratia within pistol-shot of it, but were cut off from it by a channel. This they filled up with gunny-bags full of earth. Beyond it was an old half-ruined pepper warehouse, which the Portuguese then occupied. The Dutch attacked it from the sea in their ships on the 31st of December 1662. Eight of the 29 Portuguese in it were killed or captured and it was then taken with two small pieces of cannon and a falconet, which were at once turned on the enemy. The battery at Nossa Senhora de Gratia continued to play on the wall and made breaches in it by the side of the bastion, cutting it off. On the 3rd of January 1663 it was resolved to storm the town at Calvetty and San Lazaro, the assault at San Lazaro to be dropped if that at Calvetty succeeded. The assault on Calvetty took place on the 6th at midday at low water with four companies of soldiers. They were preceded by 60 sailors with fire-pots and hand-grenades, half of whom were to climb the bastion and the other half to enter the breach on the side of the bastion. Nine guns were loosed off and under cover of the fire one company advanced to the bastion

[1] From the plan in Baldæus, taking a Rhine-land "roede" as equal to about 4 yards. The circumference is given as 7,000 paces in the Batavia Diary for 1663, p. 569. Erosion and accretion seem, judging from the old plans, to have slightly changed the direction of the shore, and the position of Vypeen relatively to Cochin.

[2] Batavia Diary, Volume for 1663, pp. 118-125, contains a narrative of this second siege from the despatches of Van Goens and Hustaert. This I follow. The less complete account of Father Giuseppe di S. Maria, written from the Portuguese point of view, has been compared and bears it out.

[3] Father Giuseppe di S. Maria who visited Vingorla in 1660 describes it as "a celebrated factory of the Dutch with buildings very beautiful in the form of a fortress." Seconda Speditione, p. 79.

and another to the breach, and the enemy were driven from the bastion. Reinforcements were sent by both sides and an obstinate fight ensued. The Dutch were much assisted by their battery at the church, which shot little stones through the breach, where the ground was soon covered with dead Portuguese. Victory rested with the Dutch who took 13 cannon and turned them on their former masters. Two hundred Portuguese were killed on the spot, as was ascertained later, including Don Bernardo, son-in-law of the Portuguese Governor, Ignatio Sermento. The Dutch leader of the assault, Major Dupon, was wounded in two places; a Dutch captain and two lieutenants died of their wounds, and the Dutch lost 30 men killed on the spot and 90 wounded, of whom 20 afterwards died.

The enemy was now in a hopeless position and next day (the 7th of January 1663) Ignatio Sermento capitulated. The terms were:

"(1) The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old "privileges, revenues, lands, with the documents and papers relating thereto and "whatever else is held in the name of the king of Portugal, all rights and titles "thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or his Worship's representatives.

"(2) All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immov-"able property, slaves and whatever else there may be, shall be handed over as "above.

"(3) All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against "the Netherlands in India for two years.

"(4) All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march out with "flying colours, drums beating, fuses alight, bullets in their mouths and two guns, to "a convenient place outside the town and lay down their arms beneath the standard "of the general.

"(5) All true-born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

"(6) All married Portuguese and Mestics [assimilated half-castes] shall "proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the "general and his council may permit.

"(7) All free Topasses [semi-assimilated half-castes and Indians] and Canarins [Konkanies] shall remain at the disposal and discretion of the general.

"(8) The clergy may take with them their images and church ornaments "except those of gold and silver.

"(9) All free persons and all persons belonging to the Church now wandering "in the country shall, if they be subjects of the King of Portugal, be comprehended "in this treaty."

On the 8th of January 1663, the soldiers and citizens came out and laid down their arms. The total number was 1,100 of whom less than 300 were soldiers. At the beginning of the siege there had been 700 soldiers in the town.

Seventy-three guns were found, but not much loot, the inhabitants having removed their property in time.

The siege had cost the Dutch 360 men, 300 more lay in hospital. 500 more were unfit for duty. On the enemy's side 900 had been killed, wounded or captured, among them 200 priests or students who had taken up arms in defence of the town [1], the second in Portuguese India, "making with those who had marched out 2,320 "men, being more than our numbers before the town, which were, according to Heer "van Goens' account, with 100 men afterwards received from Coromandel, 2,600 men, "of whom 180 lay at Cranganore and Palliport, 120 at Quilon, 200 on Vypeen, 25 "at Castello 6 miles from the camp, 70 to 80 at the King's pagoda a mile from the "camp, besides the garrison on Priests' Island, which often consisted of one, two and "three companies, and other places, so that we could not employ more than 2,000 "men before the town [2]."

[1] Batavia Diary, confirmed by Father Giuseppe di S. Maria, whose comment is: "Those reverend ecclesiastics made themselves soldiers in a civil war with shedding of blood, with irreverence towards Sacred Places and with the scandal of all that populace" (Seconda Speditione, p. 124).

[2] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 125.

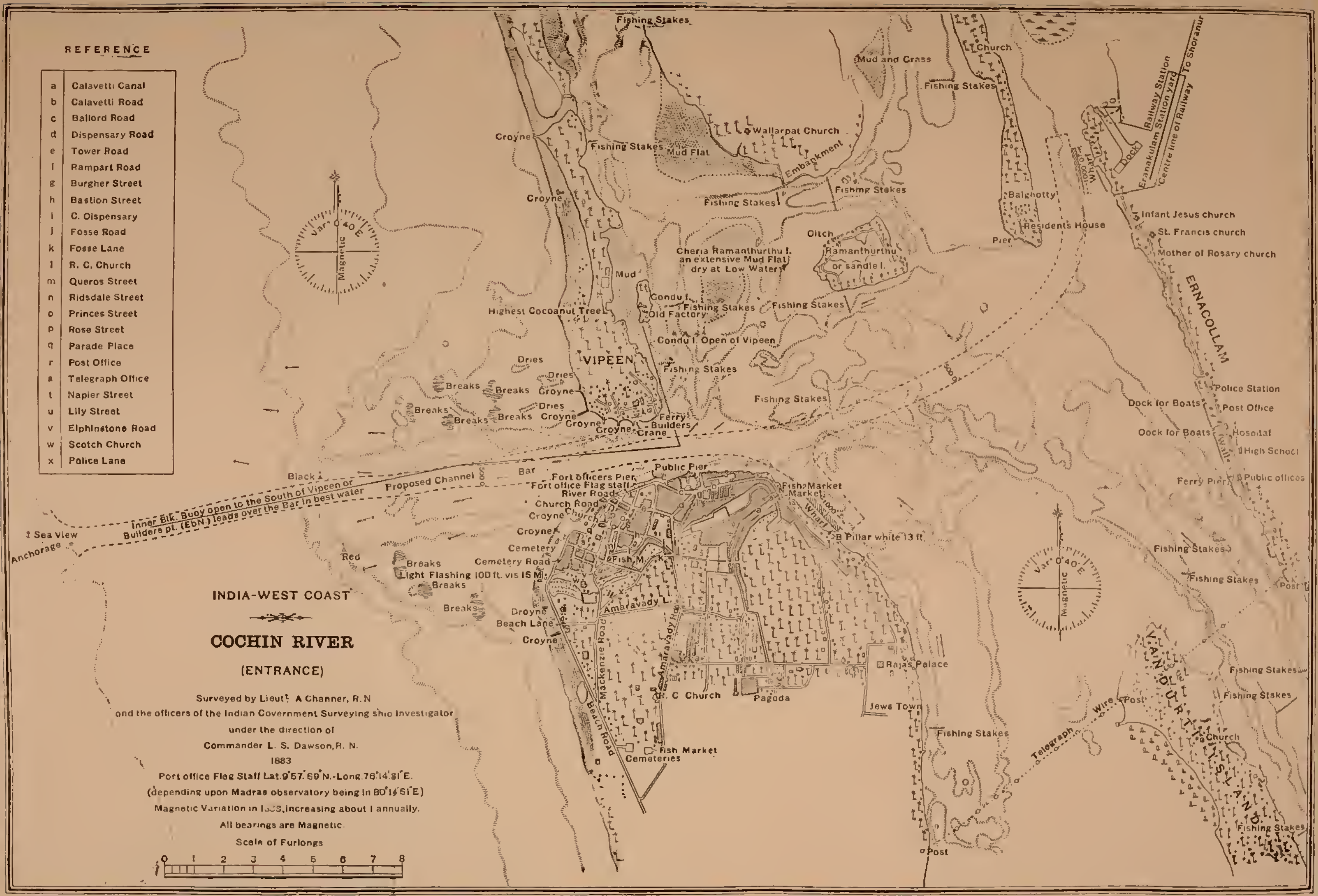


Photo.-Block, Survey Office, Madras.
1909.

CHART OF THE COCHIN RIVER.

Van Goens added in his Report that the Portuguese commandant, Ignatio Sermento, had been found a very puffed-up and truculent customer, but at the same time had borne himself remarkably well in his King's cause; for which reason he was treated generously and all his slaves and domestics, 59 in number, were restored to him.

So ended a siege creditable to both sides.

The last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar Coast, Cannanore, capitulated to Hustaert on the 13th of February. The fort was very strong and it seems to have been considered at Goa that the Commandant should have held out. He was executed on his arrival there [1].

VI

Portuguese influences. Fortification and its necessity.

The married Portuguese and mestics (or assimilated half-castes) removed to Goa from Cochin under the terms of the capitulation, with their women and children, numbered 4,000 [2]. There remained in the Portuguese town 8,000 to 10,000 topasses (or semi-assimilated half-castes and Indians), and Native Christians [3]. The public buildings and houses were massive and high. The Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans and Austin Friars had fine monasteries or colleges with churches. There were besides a great cathedral and other churches [4]. The town was not only a commercial factory, but a Portuguese colony and a centre of Portuguese civilisation. From it Portuguese influence spread all along the coast to the south. In the stretch between Quilon and Cape Comorin the Dutch found 39 villages in each of which there was a Portuguese church. Between Cape Comorin and Tuticorin numerous villages were occupied by Christians of the Parava fishing-caste, converts of St. Francis Xavier. There were according to reports of 1663 not less than 12,000 Native Christian fishermen (Mukkuvas) on the Malabar Coast and 20,000 (Paravas) on the Tuticorin Coast [5]. According to a report of Van Goens, dated 24th of September 1675 and inserted by Valentijn in his Part V, Division 1, the Company had in the seven large and seven small harbours on the Tuticorin Coast, which it took over from the Portuguese, 70,000 families of Parava Christians under its protection [6]. When the Dutch took the island of Manar in 1658 they found seven Portuguese churches there [7] and there were a cathedral and six churches in the little town of Cranganore [8]. Quilon had "seven fair brick churches, great and well-adorned" when the Dutch took it in 1661 [9]. The Portuguese topasses continued to serve the new European masters, Dutch, English and French. Portuguese half-castes were employed as commercial residents, interpreters, soldiers, schoolmasters, and Portuguese remained the lingua franca of the coast and was the language in which the Worshipful the Chief of Tellicherry corresponded with the Honourable the "Commodore" of Cochin and the French at Mahé [10]. The Dutch and English directors, in their zeal for the conversion of Catholics to the reformed religion, instructed their chaplains to learn Portuguese or "enquire after some able Minister that can preach in the Portuguese tongue; and also a Domine as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our prayers in Portuguese." [11] The backwaters and lagoons about Cochin are still strewn with ruins that bear witness to the extent of Portuguese enterprise and skill in building. Base Portuguese is still spoken at Cochin.

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[1] Danvers II, 329, Dubois.
[2] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 125.
[3] Diary, p. 127.
[4] Baldaeus, Canter Visscher, Valentijn, Schouten & the Portuguese writers *Cf.* also Foster's English Factories in India, volume for 1624–9, p. 261. "The town of Cochin is almost as great as Goa and fairly built with stone; where are many churches and castles."
[5] Batavia Diary, 1663, pp. 577–8.
[6] Valentijn V (1), II, pp. 237.
[7] Baldaeus, Ceylon, ch. 44.
[8] Baldaeus, Malabar and Coromandel, ch. XVIII; Schouten I, 265.
[9] Schouten I, 194; *cf.* Baldaeus, 1, ch. XXI.
[10] Tellicherry Diaries, *passim* Also Hamilton, edition of 1739, Preface, p. 49.
[11] General letter, dated 18th February 1691; Apud Wheeler I, p. 248. See p. 80 below.

The considerable success of the Portuguese system of assimilation and colonisation, which may still be observed in the Goan territories, was not overlooked by the Dutch. Marriage with native women and Religion supplied the Portuguese deficiency of men. Their mixed colonies of Europeans, mestics and topasses were useful for defence and saved the great cost of bringing garrisons out from home On the other hand in order to give the colonists the means of living, it would be necessary to throw a great part of the trade open to them, as the Portuguese had done. It was of no use sending out from home poor colonists, who would only be a burden to the Company and bring the nation into contempt. It would be necessary to encourage marriages with native women, but the offspring of such unions was not satisfactory. Colonists might find employment as sugar planters in Java, but it would not be easy for them to compete with the Chinese. Portuguese experience had shown that their colonists were not really of much use in the defence of their strong places.

Such were the considerations generally unfavourable to the proposal to imitate the Portuguese, advanced by the Governor-General and the majority of his Council in 1651 in separate minutes when they were asked their opinion on the subject [1]. One member of the Council, however, Maetsuyker, afterwards Governor-General from 1653 to 1678, thought that "the Portuguese had maintained themselves till that "time by no other means than the multitude of their colonists, who serve them "instead of soldiers, and without whom they would, as far as we can judge, long "since have been overthrown and forgotten."

The colonisation of Cape Colony began in the Company's time and a respectable colony of "burghers" still keeps fresh the memory of the Dutch in Ceylon, but in such a place as Cochin it was not in accordance with the national character to found a half-caste colony in the Portuguese manner and assimilate the Indian; and accordingly Cochin under the Dutch ceased to be a colony and became a mere fortified factory. It was decided on the 24th of July, 1663, after some consideration [2], that Cochin was to be retained, but a large part of the Portuguese town was to be pulled down and the perimeter of the fortifications was to be so reduced that the place could be held by a small garrison. Similar orders had been issued about Malacca [3], which had been taken from the Portuguese twenty years before, and were afterwards passed about Colombo [4] and Negapatam [5] taken in 1658. The Dutch at once set to work to destroy the houses and public buildings at the eastern and western extremities of Portuguese Cochin and to pull down what remained of the walls at the tapering point of Calvetty on the east, which they had stormed, and on the west.

Batavia first proposed a small four-cornered fort on the river. Van Goens objected that the cost of destroying a large number of churches and houses and of cutting a ditch on three land sides through their massive foundations would be very great, and such a fort could easily be approached. He preferred a larger fort with five bastions which should be flanked by the sea and the backwater and border on the land side along the morasses that had made the approach of the Dutch so difficult [6]. This plan was adopted with some slight modifications and a wall about one and a half miles in length was built with a bastion on the sea-front (Gelderland), five on the land side (Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Utrecht, Groningen) and some projecting works. These fortifications which can be traced on the ground to some extent to this day [7], seem to have been little altered in the century of the Dutch occupation from the time that Baldaeus wrote his book on Malabar and Ceylon (1672) to the time that Stavorinus visited Governor Moens (1777) or Moens wrote his Memoir (1781) [8]. Canter Visscher (1717–23) and Stavorinus (1777) observe that they could hardly resist a European enemy. They seem to have been practically complete in

[1] De Jonge VI, p. VI *et seq.* Van Rheede's Considerations on Ceylon *apud* Valentijn may be compared.
[2] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 359.
[3] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 710.
[4] Schouten I, 184.
[5] Batavia Diary, 1672, p. 325.
[6] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 569.
[7] The position of bastion Holland is fixed by references in the records (*e.g.*, MS. No. 358) to the cemetery being under it. The little Dutch cemetery thickly crowded with 18th century tomb stones still exists and the lighthouse stands on the old bastion. The Bishop's house stands on what was bastion Zeeland, the Vicar's house near the new Roman Catholic Cathedral on Utrecht, Pierce Leslie & Co.'s offices on Groningen and a hotel on Gelderland.
[8] MS. No. 15 ; Plan in Baldaeus ; Wilcocke's Stavorinus III, 230 ; Moens' Memoir, App. IV ; Canter Visscher, letter III ; secret resolutions of 1781–2 (MS. No. 1175) ; C. de Bruyn, who visited the place in 1705 A.D.

PROSPECT OF COCHIN.

1675 when Van Goens reported[1] that they had cost 875,190 guilders (about £80,000) while 450,000 should have sufficed. Proposals to fortify Purakad and Cayenkulam were rejected, but the fortifications at Quilon and Cranganore were restored, and other small forts were afterwards built.

The authorities at Batavia grudged the money spent in fortifications, and orders were received from time to time to cease to keep up or demolish this or that fort. But circumstances made the men on the spot unwilling to obey these orders, and they seem to have remained dead letters. To take an instance, Commander Breekpot received orders in 1765 to demolish the forts of Chetwai, Cranganore and Quilon. He went so far as to get an estimate drawn up of the cost of demolishing them, but wrote[2] that he did not consider it advisable to carry out the orders in view of the threatening attitude of Hyder Ali of Mysore and the King of Travancore, and for various other reasons.

Fortifications were in fact necessary so long as India possessed no settled government. However much the Dutch might wish to avoid trouble with the native rulers, they were from time to time dragged into the quarrels of princes of Malabar with one another or with foreign conquerors. Nor was it otherwise with the less considerable English settlements at Tellicherry and Anjengo in the neighbourhood. Their greatest expenses were under the heads "Garrison" and "Fortifications," the factors of Anjengo with some 120 men were massacred in April 1721 at Attungal and the factory in which some forty subordinates, etc., remained, was besieged for the next six months; while the factors of Tellicherry were constantly engaged in petty operations of war against the French at Mahé or native chiefs, maintained a garrison of 337 men as early as 1726, and were besieged by Mysore troops from July 1780 to January 1782, and had been blockaded before by petty chiefs[3]. In 1689 the Court of Directors of the English Company ordered the station "at Retorah, in the Queen of Attenger's country *to be fortified* in the strongest manner[4]". A few years later it was reported[5] to the English Directors that the Rajah of Tellicherry had offered to allow the English to take possession of that place "*and fortify it*, explaining that "otherwise he could no longer furnish them a proportion of pepper, from being "unable to defend his country." In the 17th and 18th centuries a factory in India was not safe without fortifications and a neighbouring petty prince or even a prince such as the King of Golconda or the Great Mogul himself could not guarantee its safety, however anxious he might be in his own interests that new traders should settle in his dominions. The King of Cochin could not have protected the Dutch against the Zamorin of Calicut if they had not been in a position to defend themselves, and the Zamorin himself, though perhaps the most powerful of the Malabar princes, could not prevent the Angria pirates attacking ships in the roads of Calicut in January 1743[6], while other pirates had landed at Cannanore in the night in 1742 and burnt several houses and on the 27th November 1746 Tulasi Angria with a fleet of eight grabs and 40 or 50 galevats, landed his men at Mangalore, "which place they plundered & in about 26 hours reimbarked."[7] The Dutch company's "lodge" at Sadras on the East Coast was attacked on the 12th of March 1676 in the evening by about 100 bandits habited in a strange Moorish fashion, who slew, wounded or drove away the Company's native peons and after the few Company's servants had fled, broke open the dwellings, chests, and money-boxes and went off with 6,276 pagodas (about £ 3,000) in cash and not much less in goods[8]. In 1663, on the approach of the great Mahratta bandit Sivaji, the native inhabitants of Vingorla, where the Dutch had a factory, deserted it in fear[9], and in the same year Sivaji plundered Surat while the Great Mogul's Governor cowered in the castle and the English factors were in fear of their lives. Instances could be multiplied, but the point hardly requires elaborating, and it is not surprising to find in Bruce that in 1703–4 "both

[1] Apud Valentijn V (1), 3, 239. They were ready for purposes of defence in 1665 (Diary for that year, p. 144) but the Commandeur Van Rheede was always chopping and changing.
[2] Madras MS. No. 855.
[3] From the MS. Diaries of Tellicherry and Anjengo, series for Tellicherry beginning 1726, for Anjengo 1744.
[4] Bruce's Annals III, 76.
[5] Bruce II, 165.
[6] Tellicherry Diary, 1742–3, p. 101. Compare p. 69 below.
[7] Tellicherry Diary, 1741–2, p. 114; Anjengo Diary, 1746.
[8] Batavia Diary, volume for 1676, p. 277.
[9] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 543.

" (English Presidents) agreed in giving it as their opinion to the Court of Managers " that grants of trade by the Mogul Government were temporary expedients only, that " force alone, or *a fortification with a strong garrison*, was the only means by which the " observation of the conditions in these grants could be made effectual ".

VII

Portugal and the Netherlands had made peace before Cochin and Cannanore fell.

The peace with Portugal.

The treaty was signed on the 6th of August 1661, ratified by Portugal on the 24th of May 1662, by the Netherlands on the 14th of December 1662 [1], and published on the 14th of March 1663 but nothing was heard in the East of the ratification till much later. On the 11th of May 1663 the Dutch at Batavia heard that " the peace " with the English was concluded, but that with the Portuguese not [2] ", and it was not till the 14th of June that " the frigate Joncker arrived in the roads from the father- " land having stopped nowhere on the way [3] " and brought a letter from the Directors, dated the 23rd December 1662, which announced the ratification of the treaty. The 6th article of the treaty ran as follows: " According to this treaty all hostilities " and offensive actions shall cease between the King and the Kingdom of Portugal " on the one part and the United Netherlands on the other and between their subjects " and citizens in Europe within two months from the date that this treaty shall be " signed by both parties, and in the other parts of the world from the date of the " publication of this document, and to all prisoners on both sides shall be given their " former freedom directly after the ratification of this treaty, while all regions, places, " ships and goods which may be taken in the meantime by either party as well as " those conquered before in the East Indies, the West Indies or elsewhere, will " remain in possession of those who appear to have been their possessors at the " moment; but such as are occupied and taken in Europe after the lapse of two " months from the signature of the said treaty, in other parts of the world from its " publication, shall be restored without delay or exception to their former masters."

This seems clear enough. Cochin and Cannanore were taken in January and February, 1663, that is before the publication of the treaty on the 14th of March 1663. Nevertheless in March, 1664, an envoy from the Portuguese Viceroy arrived at Batavia with a letter from the Viceroy, dated the 18th January 1664, in which he wrote [4]: " Under the capitulations of peace between the King of Portugal, my " Master, and the Most Serene Estates of the United Provinces which you must have " received by now and I again send for you to see, you must restore me the places " of Cochin and Cannanore as having been taken after the publication of the said peace " which was made on the 14th of December 1662 " . . . . .

The Dutch replied " it was true the treaty was ratified on the 14th of December " 1662, but it only came into force so far as the East was concerned, in conformity " with the sixth article, after the publication of the said peace which took place " three months after the said ratification, as may be seen in article 26."

The question was again raised in Europe two years later, but the claim was, as might have been expected, not taken seriously by the Dutch [5], though they seem to have been open to an offer. The Portuguese continued to press their claims and under article 14 of the Treaty between Portugal and France of the 31st of March 1667 the Most Chrisitian King was to endeavour to get Cochin and Cannanore restored to Portugal *omni genere officiorum*. The question was finally set at rest by the Treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands of the 30th July 1669, article 1 of which states that Cochin and Cannanore should remain in the hands of the Dutch East India Company until not only the war indemnity fixed by the treaty of 1661 had been paid but also a special indemnity for the cost of the Company's

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[1] Danvers II, 329; date 14th Decr. (not 4th as Danvers nor 24th as Valentijn) I take from Bat. Diary, 1664, p. 84. The treaty is given in full in Biker's Collection, Vol. IV.

[2] Diary, 1663, p. 172.

[3] Diary, 1663, p 236. The Portuguese do not appear to have got the news till much later. Father Giuseppe di S. Maria only heard it in November.

[4] The letter is inserted in Bat. Diary, 1664, under date 28th March.

[5] Danvers II, 329; Valentijn V (2), 34.

fleet, which had taken them, and of all the operations[1]. The fort at Cannanore remained Dutch until it was sold to the Ali Raja (Sea King) of Cannanore in 1771, and Cochin until it was taken by a British force in 1795.

VIII

Campaigns of 1717 A.D. and of 1739–42 A.D.

The history of Dutch rule on the West Coast of India from 1663 to 1795 can be written in detail only when 1,400 volumes of records have been examined and compared. Meanwhile the accounts of Stein van Gollenesse and Moens will throw some light on the politics of Malabar during their administrations. The first was written just after the failure of an enterprise which might have resulted in the establishment of a Dutch Empire on the west coast, and just before Dupleix showed the French, the English and the world what a simple matter the establishment of European ascendancy on the east coast was. The second was written when the English were becoming the leading power in South India, but were still engaged in their struggle with Mysore. When Stein Van Gollenesse wrote, Malabar was divided up among a great number of petty princes, none of them formidable. In 1781, when Moens wrote, Holland was sinking to a low place among the nations, the Dutch had long ceased to be masters of the sea, and the once great Dutch East India Company could no longer dream of territorial expansion in the East, but was about to be ruined by the war between the home country and Great Britain.

Though the history of the Dutch in Malabar cannot yet be written, something may be said about two out-standing compaigns.

When the Dutch took Cochin the most powerful and aggressive of the petty princes of Malabar was the Zamorin of Calicut. He had been for a hundred and fifty years the enemy of the Portuguese and of the King of Cochin, and when the Dutch prepared to lay siege to Cochin he entered into an alliance with them and gave them some assistance, though much less than the Dutch had expected. The Zamorin expected in return to be made King of Cochin[2]. But the Dutch had no intention of making him too powerful. He then asked for at least the island of Vypeen. But this also was refused him. The relations of the Zamorin with the Dutch were naturally not cordial thereafter. Moreover questions were always arising between him and the King of Cochin, whom the Dutch were bound by treaty to protect. As early as 1665 there was a question about a piece of territory called Catur. The Dutch had to interfere and propose a settlement, which was accepted. But hostilities continually broke out between the parties, and as often as not Cochin, though the weaker, was according to the Dutch the aggressor, relying on the Dutch to protect him[3]. War was in fact the natural state of Malabar ; the different princes always had claims, often of great obscurity, to places in one another's territories. Moreover the Zamorin and Cochin were the heads of rival factions, also of obscure origin, called the Chavarakur and Panniyurkur factions, and as such had always an excuse for fighting. The Portuguese found Cochin at war with the Zamorin in 1500 ; the parties continued to be at war intermittently for the next two hundred and fifty years.

For half a century after the occupation of Cochin the Dutch were from time to time embroiled in these wars and led into expenditure which caused Malabar to be set down as an unprofitable settlement. The Zamorin's route of invasion lay along the shore by Chetway and Cranganore. The Payenchery Nair, in whose territory Chetway lay, and the Prince of Cranganore were tributary to him. In 1710 A.D. the Dutch forced the Zamorin to conclude a treaty by which he ceded to them the suzerainty over these two little chiefs (treaty of 10th January 1710) and proceeded to build or extend a fort at Chetway. The situation became acute again in the year 1715 when

[1] These treaties are given in full in Vol. IV of Biker's collection (Treaties relating to Portuguese India in Latin and Portuguese).
[2] Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 128.
[3] Canter Visscher.

the Zamorin surprised the fort on the night of the 22nd of January [1]. The prestige of the Company was seriously affected and the numbers of their enemies began to swell "like a snow-ball [2]". A glimpse of the Dutch Commandeur of the time, Barent Ketel, is obtainable from the diary of Stephen Strutt [3], who was sent to inspect the English factories on the west coast in 1714. He was at Cochin on November the 16th and was received politely by the "Commodore", of whom he remarks: "The "Governor Barran Kettle raised himself from a Centinell as several of their men in "post have done he was mighty affable and courteous." He seems however to have been corrupt; for Strutt goes on to remark that the Governor and broker "being equally concerned" charged the Dutch Company "whatever they could agree" for pepper, and that private persons could easily procure pepper underhand in spite of the Company's monopoly, "but it must not be openly."

This person was afterwards summoned to Batavia to undergo his trial for high treason and cowardice, but was eventually acquitted in 1719 [4].

It was realised in Batavia that a considerable force would be required in Malabar to restore the Company's prestige. 1,573 men were sent in September 1715, and 1,500 more in September 1716 [5], these last under the command of the Right Worshipful the Councillor Extraordinary William Bakker Jacobsz. The Diary of His Worship's campaign was written up in great detail from day to day and part of it is still in existence [6].

His Worship arrived in Cochin on the 23rd of November 1716. One of his first acts was to send letters announcing his arrival and that of Barent Ketel's successor, Johannes Hertenberg, and his intention of punishing the Zamorin, to the powers of Malabar. The list of addressees below will give some idea of the manner in which Malabar was then divided up into petty States—

To the Raja of Porca.
,, Repolim.
,, Calicoilan.
,, De Marta.
,, Signatty.
,, Trevancore
,, Teckenkore.
,, Berkenkore.
,, Peritaly.
To the Ameen of Atinga.
,, Cochin.
To the Raja of Cartadavil.
,, Aijrore.
,, Palcatchery.
,, Valavanatty.
,, Colastry.
,, Cranganore.
To the second prince of Mangatty.
,, ,, Bardella.
To the Pula of Cariatta.
,, Gurip of Trevancore.
,, 7,000 of Caraporam.
,, 30,000 of Cururnadda.

To the Palvet.
To the 3,000 of Baijpin.
,, Coddachery Caymal.
,, Corrotty Caymal.
,, Changara Codda. Caymal.
,, Mannacotta Atsja.
,, Tottacherry Talchenore.
,, Murianatty Nambiar.
,, Aynicuty Naubeddy.
,, Raja of Paru.
,, Balnoro of Bargara.
,, Adergia of Cannanore.
,, Caymal of Cunattunaddu.
,, Tevengul Nairo.
,, Para Elledam.
,, Palurgatty Caymal.
,, Tachotta Munancur
,, Caymal of Angecaymal.
,, Payenchery Nairo [7].

[1] Summary of history in Resolution of 5th March 1777, MS. No. 1151. *Cf.* also Study of Affairs in Malabar, 1691–3, from original documents by N. Macleod 1902, published by Nijhoff, the Hague, and the Summary given by the Dutch to the British Resident in 1793 (Vol. 13, Malabar Commission's Report and Vol. 29, Malabar Commission Diaries, Political, in Fort St. George Records).

[2] Canter Visscher.

[3] MS. Diary in the Madras records.

[4] Klerk de Reus, p. 151, note.

[5] Valentijn V (2), 44.

[6] MS. Nos. 97–99.

[7] Where most of the places are and the meanings of the designations will be explained in Stein Van Gollenesse's Memoir and the notes thereto. The Nairs are the fighting caste (a Sudra caste), Pillai, Nambidi and Kurup Nair titles, Caymal means Prince, Atsja (Achan) = father, Adergia = Ali Raja, Sea King, Balnore is Malayalam Valluvanar, Ruler, etc.

From calculations as to how far a supply of rice would go it appears that the Dutch force in the field at the beginning of the campaign consisted of 3,226 men without counting 1,000 Cingalese expected from Ceylon who actually arrived at Chetway on the 26th February 1717[1]. It is also mentioned that there were not more than 193 topasses and 113 lascorins in the service, and from an entry under the 10th January 1717 it appears that the Dutch could then dispose of 3,400 men as against 2,200 the year before. The Zamorin was entrenched in a pagger (stockade) at Paponetty (Pappinivattam), some 20 miles south of the captured fort of Chetway. The pagger was attacked on the 16th January 1717 and taken with a slaughter of 2,000 of the Zamorin's Nairs. The Dutch casualties were 17 Europeans dead, 72 wounded; others, 22 dead, 69 wounded. On the 27th the Dutch army arrived before Chetway, which they found abandoned, and the Zamorin began to negotiate.

According to the Rev. J. Canter Visscher, who was chaplain of Cochin from December 1717 to December 1723, the result of the action at Paponetty was a great shock to the heathen and the bones of the dead lay about the fields for many years afterwards. The reverend gentleman exaggerates a subsequent skirmish at Urevenur on the 12th of February, in which the Dutch, according to the Diary of the campaign, lost one man killed and five wounded, and the Zamorin 117 to 120 killed and severely wounded, into "a decisive victory", and cannot be considered a very trustworthy witness, but it certainly appears from the Zamorin's correspondence that he had no stomach for fighting after the action of the 16th of January. The negotiations fell through for the time being over the question of the amount of the indemnity, the Zamorin asserting that he had no cash but would surrender land, while the Dutch wanted both land and cash. A few months afterwards peace was concluded and the Dutch obtained a small indemnity [2] and were also placed in possession, in complete sovereignty, of a strip of sea-coast (Province Paponetty), forming part of what was called "the Sandy land" between Chetway and Cranganore [3]—now a southerly projection of the British district of Malabar, cutting off the Cochin State from the sea. They were also confirmed or established in the sovereignty over Cranganore and other petty states [4], while certain other territories handed over by the Zamorin [5] were handed on to Cochin. In this war the Zamorin seems to have received assistance from the English. This is not only asserted in the Campaign Diary of the Dutch, but is confirmed by the contemporary writer Alexander Hamilton (edition of 1739, I. 315) and by an entry on p. 67 of the Tellicherry Diary for 1743–4, where the old "linguist" or Eurasian agent of the English at Calicut is reported as observing: "when this Fort at Tellicherry was set about the Building of, Mr. Adams got leave from the Samorine to export what "materials he should want from Calicut customs free, which he believes the "Samorine more readily granted, as Mr. Adams was very serviceable to him by "assisting him in his wars against the Dutch."

The supply of war material was a profitable branch of trade, while it was good policy to injure a trade rival and secure the favour of a native chief. Another extract from the Tellicherry Diary under date the 19th September 1743 will show that another native chief had been given similar assistance against the French: "From the circumstances of the Debt we judge that the reason he (the chief "Boyanore) refuses to discharge it is that as it arose from Stores and Ammunition "supplied to him privately in his wars with the French, he imagines we do not care "to make any great stir about it, lest the French should be acquainted with our "having assisted him."

Canter Visscher suggests that more advantages should have been obtained and hints that the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz had private reasons of his own for not completely humbling the Zamorin. This shows that the Dutch at Cochin, or some of them, were not satisfied with the acquisitions made. But His Worship had not a very large force and the Cingalese expected from Ceylon did not

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[1] Diary of the Campaign. On the 7th of March the field army at Urevenur consisted of 4,181 men, of whom 941 were Europeans, 125 topasses, 371 lascorins (Indian or Ceylon sepoys), 1,654 Malays, 1,090 Cingalese. The auxiliaries supplied by the Raja of Cochin are estimated by Valentyn at 15,000.

[2] Article 2 of the Treaty of the 17th December, 1717: 85,000 Calicut new golden fanums (MS. No. 105).

[3] Article 23 of the Treaty.

[4] Articles 17 and 24 of the Treaty.

[5] Article 21 of the Treaty.

arrive in time, and it was not the policy of the Dutch Company at this time to assume the sovereignty of extensive territories, but rather to force petty princes in the neighbourhood of their settlements to enter into contracts for the delivery of products at low prices (that is, to pay a disguised tribute), while it held in sovereignty only the sea-margin of productive hinterlands. It appears however, from Stein Van Gollenesse's Memoir [1] and papers of 1717 A.D.[2] that the authorities at Batavia were much dissatisfied with His Worship for being content with a small indemnity and for handing over to the King of Cochin some of the territories ceded by the Zamorin. The revenue of the strip of land retained (Province Paponetty) was not large. The average nett revenue for the five years before Hyder Ali took it was only 15,000 guilders or 12,500 rupees [3] while, if Canter Visscher is to be believed, the war had cost the Company nearly two million guilders [4].

The Company may have been somewhat ill served, but even had more ambitious counsels prevailed the time was not favourable for acquiring large possessions in Malabar. The second Javanese Succession War shortly afterwards broke out and occupied the Dutch forces for the next five years. Reinforcements could hardly have been spared for Malabar. The finances of the Company would perhaps have permitted them to conduct a war in Malabar as well as the war in Java. 40 per cent. dividend was paid each year from 1715 to 1720, $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. in 1721, 30 per cent. in 1722, $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1723, 15 per cent. in 1724 and 20 per cent. in 1725, the Company's stock reached 1260 for every hundred in 1720 [5] and its credit was excellent. But there was always great difficulty in getting European troops. The pay was not attractive and the mortality, especially on the voyage out and in the depôt, Batavia, then perhaps the most unhealthy European Station in the East. was appalling. Sufficient Dutchmen could not be procured ; men had to be obtained from the interior of Germany or elsewhere [6], and the Dutch had at one time French, at another Swiss regiments in their service in the East. In some of their wars they employed considerable armies, but the necessary stiffening of Europeans was always small, and they probably seldom had as many as 10,000 Europeans in their military service in the Indies. With a mortality in the European army calculated at from 70 to 120 per thousand, with garrisons in numerous stations which even at minimum strength absorbed many thousands of men, with recruitment very difficult and with only 25 ships of a few hundred tons each a year on an average to convey the new levies from home [7], the Dutch Company was scarcely in a position to conduct a war of conquest in Malabar while it was engaged in Java.

However that may be, the campaign of 1717 restored the Company's prestige in Malabar and there was no further trouble for some years. The next campaigns of importance occurred in a war with the Kingdom of Travancore which lasted from 1739 to 1742.

When the Dutch first came to Malabar, Travancore was a very small principality. According to a report [8] of Van Goens written in 1675 "Travancore begins "with the West cape of Comorin and ends on the coast about two hours' walk or less "north of Tegenapatnam" (a port in Vilavankod Taluk 15 minutes south of the present capital, Trivandrum). On the north along the coast followed the principalities of Attungal (whose rulers permitted the English Company to construct a factory at Anjengo), of Quilon or properly Desinganad (the Signatty) and of Cayenculam. On the north-east Travancore was bordered by the Kingdom of Peritalli and Elayadatu Svarupam. Even the memory of the Kingdom of Peritalli has died out,[9] but I find it mentioned in the early English as well as Dutch records. On the 4th of March 1726 the English factors at Tellicherry recorded in their Diary : "The Kings of Chinga- "natta and Perital have joined Vanjanatta and are resolved to crush the King of Travancore."

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[1] P. 63.
[2] MS. No. 105.
[3] Figures in MS. No 1151.
[4] Canter Visscher, Letter VI.
[5] Klerk de Reus, p. 177 and App. VI.
[6] Lists of soldiers with towns of origin in MS. No. 1067 and other volumes. The comments quoted by Whitehouse of Anquetil du Perron, who visited Cochin in 1757-8 on the mongrel garrison at that place, may be compared.
[7] The facts are from Klerk de Reus, passim.
[8] Apud Valentijn V (I) III. 238.
[9] So Mr. Achyuta Menon informs me.

From 1729 to 1758 an able and ambitious prince, Martanda Varma, reigned in Travancore. He first reduced his own vassals to obedience; with the help of the English according to Stein Van Gollenesse[1], a statement which cannot be fully checked as the Anjengo records of the time no longer exist, but is confirmed by a letter written in 1757 by the Chief of Anjengo to the Select Committee at Madras[2]. He then turned his attention to his neighbours. He first (1734 A.D.) attacked Elayadatu Svarupam, in which Peritalli had by that time been absorbed, and imprisoned the ruling family in a fort in the hills, where the King died in 1741[3]. The acquisition doubled his dominions. In the same year he attacked the Raja of Cayanculam, who fell in battle on the first of June 1734[4]. The Signatty of Quilon, who had had previous differences with Martanda Varma and was the nephew of the Raja of Cayanculam, declared Cayanculam absorbed in his State and continued the war.

It was to the interest of the Dutch to maintain the position they had acquired of arbitrators in Malabar, to prevent any one prince growing too powerful, and to stop encroachments on the principalities of Cayanculam and Quilon, where they had factories. The conquest of Peritalli and Elayadatu Svarupam, the peaceful absorption of Attungal on which Travancore had a claim through his mother[5], and the practical absorption of another small principality called "Marta" (between Quilon and Purakad) by the succession thereto of a female member of Travancore's own family, alarmed the Dutch. Eventually it was determined to take the field on behalf of the Signatty and of the imprisoned prince of Elayadatu Svarupam.

The Commandeur of Cochin was not in 1739 as in 1717 a corrupt ex-"Centinell" destined to be tried for incompetency, but the author of one of the Memoirs here translated, Stein Van Gollenesse, a man of good family, afterwards promoted to be Governor of Ceylon and member of the Batavia Council; and a superior officer of the Company, the ordinary Member of Council, Van Imhoff, who made a short visit to Malabar at the beginning of the year 1739 and seems to have suggested the policy of war[6], was an even more distinguished personage than the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz. Gustaaf Willem, Baron Van Imhoff, was member of a family of nobles. The monument to a relative in Wolfendal church, Ceylon, displays sixteen quarterings[7]. He was born on the 8th of August 1705, came out to the East in 1725, became Councillor Extraordinary in 1732 and in 1736 Ordinary Councillor and Governor of Ceylon. In 1738 he was at home on leave and made so good an impression on the Directors that they resolved to appoint him Governor-General at the next vacancy[8], and he was in fact destined to be one of the most distinguished of the Dutch Governor-Generals in the East.

His Worship was an able and energetic man. He seems to have concluded that the system under which the Dutch had endeavoured to act as arbitrators in Malabar and to content themselves with a tribute in products to be delivered at a price much below that of the market, had broken down. The action of a single ambitious prince had shown that the system could not be maintained without a considerable force. Malabar must either become an ordinary commercial settlement, like the English or Danish factories on the coast, and buy products at the market price, or the Company must establish its sovereignty over the country. The second of the two policies was adopted and war was declared on Travancore. The position being critical, reinforcements from Batavia were not awaited. A few companies arrived from Ceylon and the campaign was opened with these and the Malabar garrison. A history of the war which ensued could be written from the diaries and other papers of the time. A summary will be found in the foot-note to page 83 below. It will be sufficient to say here that it never became much more than "a defensive and auxiliary war" as Moens calls it, because events in Java, in which Van Imhoff himself bore a great

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[1] P. 53.
[2] Fort St. George records. Military Conss, No. 8. "It's to be remarked that by the help of the Hon'ble Company he [Travancore] was first enabled to acquire an influence in the country."
[3] Stein Van Gollenesse, p. 55.
[4] MS. No. 203.
[5] Moens, p. 105.
[6] (a) Diary of Van Imhoff, January to March 1739, MS. No. 281.
(b) Stavorinus and Report of Van Imhoff, dated 6th July 1739, quoted by him.
[7] Anthonisz' Dutch Records at Colombo.
[8] Enc. Van Nederl. Indië.

part, while they resulted in establishing a Dutch empire in that great and rich island, made it impossible for the Company to despatch troops to Malabar. After four campaigns Travancore had become more powerful than he had ever been before, the Dutch were compelled to recognise all his claims, and the schemes for large territorial acquisitions on the West Coast of India were dropped by the Company, though we still find Stein Van Gollenesse writing in 1743 [1]: "Should the Hon'ble "Company at any time have a great force in India and occasion permit us to push "the matter energetically, my opinion would be that it would suffice to *make* "*ourselves completely masters* of the states of Peritalli and Vadacancur." The Dutch, he goes on to say, had previously "conquered the coast", but the sovereignty of the coast was insufficient as pepper could be exported inland and the only way to secure an unfailing supply of cheap pepper was to assume the sovereignty of tracts in which the spice grew.

Even this modified imperialistic scheme came to nothing and in 1753 the Dutch finally came to terms with Martanda Varma. They were not to stand in the way of Travancore absorbing all the petty principalities of South Malabar [2], and were to supply him with 12,000 rupees worth of arms annually on payment [3]. He on his part was to supply them with all the piece-goods manufactured in his country, with 1,500,000 lbs. of pepper from his hereditary possessions (Travancore and Attungul) at Rs. 65 per candy (500 lbs. Dutch [4]) and with another million from the principalities "he had conquered or might conquer through the neutral attitude of the said Company.[5]" By this treaty the Dutch reverted to their traditional policy of recognising a native prince in return for an indirect tribute paid in kind. The market price of pepper of course varied; but I find from the Tellicherry Diaries that it was Rs. 100 a candy of 520 lbs. English (Diary 1740–1, p. 69) in December 1740, Rs. 104 a little later, Rs. 98 in April 1741, Rs. 116 in March 1742, Rs. 95 for a supply of 410 candies obtained from Ezechiel Rabbi of Cochin in December 1743, and in general the price seems to have been never much less than Rs. 100 during the next forty years. On the 28th of February 1780 the Tellicherry factors shipped a cargo of 939 candies odd of the invoice value of Rs. 1,14,000 odd (Rs. 121 per candy). In the same year out of a total of 1,065,249 lbs. collected by Governor Moens at Cochin, 1,001,999 lbs. were supplied by Travancore at Rs. 65 per candy [6]. The indirect tribute paid by Travancore to the Dutch in that year may accordingly be reckoned at over a lakh of rupees (2,000 × Rs. 50). It would have been about three lakhs of rupees if the full amount stipulated for by the treaty of 1753 had been supplied. But Travancore argued that the 2,000 candies to be supplied from lands conquered or to be conquered were not due, as the Dutch had by preventing him absorbing the kingdoms of Cochin and Calicut, not fulfilled their part of the bargain [7], and he usually did not even supply the full 3,000 candies or million and a half pounds due from his hereditary territory on the plea that that small territory did not yield so much—which may have been true. Martanda Varma at any rate, in the opinion of Commandeur F. Cunes, who wrote a Memoir [8] in 1756, three years after the conclusion of the treaty, honestly intended to deliver the full amount, and if his successors were lax in making the supply, it must be remembered that they could obtain the war material of which they stood in need from other European nations who were willing to pay a higher price for pepper. "A candy of pepper for every musket you let me have" was a proposal made by Martanda Varma to the Anjengo factors in 1744 [9]; on the 19th of February 1780 the Anjengo factors received "600 stand of new Arms for the King of Travancore; [10]" and the following passage from a letter written by the Chief of Anjengo in 1757 illustrates the point: "As the Dutch on one side supplied him

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1 P. 72.
2 From article 9 of the Treaty.
3 From article 20 of the Treaty.
4 From article 4 of the Treaty.
5 From article 6 of the Treaty.
6 Accounts in MS. No. 1136. The Anjengo factors were getting pepper from Travancore at the same time at Rs. 82 a candy, but that was under special contract, and they supplied him with arms in return. In 1793 the English Company contracted with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560 lbs. at Rs. 115 per candy and with Cochin for candies of 500 Dutch lbs. or 540 English lbs. at the same price, in 1795 with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560 lbs. at Rs. 130 (Logan's Treaties, pp. 174, 184, 234).
7 Moens, p. 113.
8 MS. No. 693.
9 Anjengo MS. Diary.
10 Anjengo Diary.

(Travancore) with arms, etc., and the Danes and other Europeans at times did the same at Coletchy, for which they got pepper, he withheld pepper from us under pretence that we show'd ourselves less friendly to him than others. Therefore, tho' reluctantly, the Hon'ble Company were necessitated to submit to the said evil other Europeans had indulged him in [1]."

The political result of the Dutch policy was that Travancore absorbed all the smaller principalities south of Cochin and a part of Cochin itself and attained its present dimensions, while Cochin continued to exist at all only because it was under the immediate protection of the Dutch, and the Calicut Kingdom perhaps only because the Dutch at Cochin barred the way. Travancore maintained a considerable army partly trained by Dutch deserters, of whom Lanoy and Duyvenschot are specially mentioned by Moens [2] as the most important. Stein van Gollenesse's administration regarded the reported appointment of Duyvenschot to command the King of Travancore's forces as a most serious danger and an attempt by Travancore to storm Quilon in July 1742 was attributed to his influence [3]. Lanoy was afterwards appointed Commander-in-Chief of Martanda Varma's disciplined forces, said to have amounted to 50,000 men [4], and served him and his successors for 37 years (1740 to 1777) [5]. He died at the age of 62 while giving the finishing touches to the famous Travancore lines which checked Hyder Ali and Tippu. The resistance offered by Travancore to the formidable armies of Mysore at a time when they were disputing the British supremacy in South India is a historical fact of no small importance. The Dutch policy assisted in the creation of a strong state out of the numerous principalities of South Malabar and Dutchmen commanded the forces of Travancore for thirty-five years and fortified his frontiers.

IX

Events of 1740 A.D. to 1755 A.D. in other parts of the Company's possessions.

Such was the actual course of events. The fact that the Dutch had entertained plans for the acquisition of territorial sovereignty in India before Dupleix and Clive had shown the way is not generally known[6], and it may be worth while to explain why the determined and energetic Van Imhoff, who seems to have been their originator, did not execute them when in the year 1742 he became Governor-General and could dispose of all the Company's forces.

There is an interesting contemporary entry in the Tellicherry Diary under date 24th July 1742. "The Dutch at Cannanore inform that Baron Imhoff is coming " General to Batavia with thirty-six men of war." Congratulations were sent by the English factors "on such a fleet as we had not heard of before in India". Stein Van Gollenesse tells us [7] that on hearing the news of Van Imhoff's return to India as Governor-General Travancore "hurriedly returned with his army to his own country", and sued for peace "in very polite terms," and as late as November 1744 he is reported by the Anjengo factors as still "very apprehensive" that the Dutch would attack him again [8]. Why did the new Governor-General not fulfil the general expectation and send to Malabar forces which would have made it possible to carry out what seems to have been his own old policy?

In 1729 began what is called "the black period" of the Company's rule. In 1731 the Governor-General Diedrik Durven, three members of the Supreme Council and other officers were removed from office and re-called to Europe. They were not put on their trial and clear proofs of the charges against them are not now available. But it was notorious that the administration, political, commercial and judicial, had become corrupt, and it is believed that the main charges against Durven were of selling

[1] Fort St. George Recorde, Military department General number 8, p. 899.
[2] P. 236.
[3] Letters to Batavia, of October 1741 and August 1742 in MS. No. 335.
[4] Nagam Aiyar. Travancore Manual, 1·358; Shungoony Menon's History of Travancore, page 165; both statements perhaps resting on Fra Paolino, Foster's translation, page 173.
[5] His Latin epitaph at Udayagiri (in Cotton, p. 376).
[6] The following remark in the Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, II, 470, is not true either of the Portuguese or of the Dutch: "Until after the death of Aurangzeb all the Europeans confined themselves strictly to their commerce, and as traders were ready to obey the ruling chief in their neighbourhood, of whatever race or religion he might be." At Cochin both Portuguese and Dutch were from the beginning sovereigns, not subjects but the Paramount Power in Malabar.
[7] P. 53.
[8] Anjengo Diary.

appointments, and of impaling Chinese alive and letting them die of slow torture in public; at any rate these are among the charges advanced in the pamphlets of the day. Ceylon had suffered from similar tyranny and a Governor, Peter Vuijst, had been found guilty of cruelty, oppression, corruption and judicial murders, and had suffered a shameful death on the scaffold at Batavia.

For a hundred years no Governor-General had been appointed from home. A member of the Council, often chosen by the Council itself, had succeeded on a vacancy occurring. Such a man could not be without his likings and prejudices; he had usually formed family ties in the east; he had had his quarrels with other members of the service The post of Governor-General was often won by intrigue and used to pay off old scores or to reward partisans. The service was full of cliques, and a clique which had made its way into the Council Chamber was bitterly opposed by the cliques which had been unsuccessful, while the Council itself was often divided.

In the year 1740 Van Imhoff was a member of council at Batavia. He had for years been an enemy of the Governor-General Valkenier, who had reached that eminence in 1737 after being passed over in 1735 for one Patras, a feeble old man. In the long secret letters that Valkenier had occasion to write some years later he put down his supersession in 1735 to the opposition of Van Imhoff. In 1740 violent quarrels broke out between Van Imhoff and Valkenier[1].

The council was at that time confronted with a problem of great difficulty. The settlement of the Dutch in Java had led to a large immigration of Chinese. The Chinese were not easy people to deal with, and the Dutch had from time to time forbidden their settlement in Batavia or required them to take out residential licenses. With the civil service as corrupt as it was at this time the system of licenses led to manifold abuses. The rich Chinese were squeezed, the poor were driven from their occupations and trades and a large class was formed of Chinese tramps, criminals and bandits. In 1740 the Dutch became seriously alarmed and on the 25th of July a resolution was passed in Council that all suspect wandering Chinese, even if provided with licenses, should be arrested.

Van Imhoff brought forward this resolution. Valkenier opposed it. But Van Imhoff commanded the stronger party in the Council and it was carried.

Many honest Chinese were imprisoned under the resolution, and the rumour among them was that the prisoners were to be put on ships on the pretext of being taken to the Cape, and drowned on the way. On the 26th of September news arrived that the Chinese in the highlands were forming themselves into bands of 50 and 100 men under separate commandants and providing themselves with arms. In the Council Chamber Van Imhoff complained of the oppressive way in which the resolution of July had been carried out and of the general squeezing and oppression of the Chinese. Valkenier pretended to be surprised and declared that he knew nothing about it. Meanwhile the town was put in a position of defence, and all kinds of rumours went about regarding the intentions of the roving bands outside and of the Chinese population of Batavia. Actual attacks from outside followed on the night of the 8th of October, but were repulsed, the members of Council commanding detachments at the different gates of the town. Batavia had passed a very unpleasant wakeful night and when the Council met at six o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, "Valkenier proposed that "whereas in the past night the Chinese nation had not "hesitated to attack the outposts weapons in hand and to show themselves and "commit hostilities before the very walls and gates of the town, this nation should "be declared enemies of the Company and *the town cleared of Chinese*, who were "to be found within the same in great numbers, in order that the enemy should not "have to be faced within and without the town at the same time." Van Imhoff was not for violent measures. He proposed sorties to discover what was going on outside the town, a pacificatory proclamation and the inspection of all Chinese houses in the town, those in whose houses arms were found to be imprisoned, the rest to be left unmolested on condition that they did not leave their houses after half-past seven. Van Imhoff's proposal was approved, the register of resolutions recording that it was

[1] I follow De Jorge, Vol. X, in my account of these transactions.

strongly opposed by the Governor-General "who was of opinion that the Chinese "in general must be declared enemies of the State and that the first thing to do was "to *wipe the town clear of them from within* if we wished to place ourselves in a "position to attack the enemy outside."

Orders were given to carry out Van Imhoff's proposal. Meanwhile a fire broke out in the Chinese quarter. It was believed by some to have been lighted by the Chinese with the purpose of destroying the town. Others afterwards declared it was the work of Europeans. At the same time the magisterial officers charged with the execution of the resolution that the Chinese houses should be searched arrived with their numerous following. The escort mixed with the crowd which had been attracted by the fire. Misunderstanding, or taking advantage of, the presence of the officers, a mob of Europeans began to plunder the houses of the Chinese and massacre the inhabitants. In the next two days they massacred every Chinese man, woman and child they could find, 10,000 altogether it is said, even the prisoners in the jails and the sick from the hospital.

Valkenier was accused of having ordered the general massacre. He denied it to the day of his death, but certainly did not raise a finger to prevent it, and on the 10th of October he issued an order that the Chinese in the hospital should be turned out into the streets, knowing of course what their fate would be. Nor can Van Imhoff and his party, who afterwards vaunted their outraged feelings and their innocence, be acquitted of blame. They seem to have done nothing to stop the massacre, though a week after, on the 17th of October, Van Imhoff laid a written declaration on the table in Council that he was in no way responsible for the horrible massacre on the 9th, left the responsibility to those who had given the orders for it, and had no desire to participate in the consequences of that "unheard-of" event, though he would gladly help to restore order. He then carried a resolution to the effect that the responsibility for the massacre of the Chinese was left to those that had ordered it and that a general amnesty should be offered to all Chinese who laid down their arms within a month. Valkenier protested, but was outvoted.

The panic in the town died down and measures were taken to deal with the roving Chinese bands ; but the quarrels in Council reached such a point that on the 6th of December Valkenier placed Van Imhoff and two other councillors under military arrest and on the 10th of January 1741 sent them home in arrest.

Meanwhile orders, dated December 1740, arrived in Batavia appointing Van Imhoff Governor General in succession to Valkenier. Valkenier started home in November 1741 leaving a locum tenens in charge. On arriving at the Cape in January 1742 he found himself in military arrest under orders from the Directors that he should be sent back a prisoner to Batavia to stand his trial. Van Imhoff had arrived in Holland and told his story.

Valkenier's trial was never concluded. He languished in jail till he died on the 20th of June 1751. The charges took long to draw up, still longer to answer. Valkenier asked for copies of an enormous number of papers. His answer to the charges, which was handed in in December 1744, consisted of no less than 12,333 (twelve thousand three hundred and thirty-three) paragraphs. He was accused of selling offices as well as of crimes under various heads in connection with the massacre and with the arbitrary arrest of the three councillors. The 12,333 paragraphs naturally afforded opportunities for further replies, counter-replies, demands for documents and applications to the Courts. His death broke off criminal proceedings which had lasted nine and a half years. They were followed by civil proceedings regarding his estate of some £60,000 sterling, which lasted another $8\frac{3}{4}$ years.

Meanwhile Van Imhoff was Governor-General from 1743 to 1750. The Chinese bands and the Javanese who had joined them had been overcome, before he returned to India, after some very severe fighting and with the result that the Company claimed supremacy in all Java. But that supremacy was again challenged in 1745 in a war which lasted from 1747 to 1755, is known as the Third Javanese Succession War and really left the Company sovereigns of Java. While the Company was putting out all its strength and spending millions of guilders[1] in Java, it could not afford to

[1] Klerk de Reus XXXVIII, Note.

conduct wars in Malabar. And that is why Van Imhoff, though he arrived "with such a fleet as had not before been heard of in India," could not send troops to Malabar to carry out what may once have been his own ideas.

X

The civil and military administration.

The civil and military administration was elaborately organised in the Dutch settlements They had many Courts, Committees, Institutions. The Directors of the English Company long held the Dutch system up as a model to their subordinates, the chief offices in their settlement and sometimes their designations were borrowed from the Dutch system. In the early days the advisability of imitating the Dutch was freely acknowledged, and many Dutchmen were induced to enter the English Company's service. So in 1687 Governor Yale of Madras (afterwards founder of Yale University) having sent the Directors "a book containing the Dutch methods", they observed that they had found in it "not much more than "some of us understood before of their affairs, but as there appears in this great "wisdom and policy . . . we recommend to you the frequent reading and "consideration of what is contained in these papers, which the oftener you read, "the more you will discover the wisdom of those persons who contrived those "methods . . . *our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch Government among* "*the English in the Indies* (*than which a better cannot be invented*) for the good of "posterity, and to put us upon an equal footing of power with them to offend or "defend, or enlarge the English dominion and unite the strength of our nation "under one entire and absolute command subject to us; as we are and ever shall "be most dutifully to our own sovereign" [who was ousted for a Dutchman the year after!]. "But this distinction we will make that we will always observe our "own old English terms, viz. Attorney General instead of Fiscal, Alderman instead "of Sepin, Burgesses instead of Burghers, Serjeants instead of Baillies, President "and Agent instead of Commander, Director or Commissary etc [1]."

What especially provoked the admiration of the English Directors in the Dutch conduct of affairs was that they placed administration before trade. "The wise "Dutch", wrote the Directors in 1689, "in all their general advices that we have "seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military "policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write "concerning trade [2]."

Such citations might be multiplied, and it was not only the governing body of the English Company that felt the superiority of the Dutch in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth. An early instance is afforded by a plaintive remark of the English factors at Pulicat about the Dutch in a letter dated the 26th of July 1622: "thus in every quallitye they goe beyond us" [3]; a later by the observation of the traveller Fryer (1674): "I should mightly blame them [the "English Company] should they prove ungrateful to His Majesty, who by his "gracious favour has united them in a Society, whereby they are competitors for "Riches (though not Strength) with the Noted'st Company in the Universe [4]"; and one yet later by the remarks of the traveller Grose (middle of 18th century): "One of the reasons why the Dutch East India Company flourishes, and is become "more rich and powerful than all the others is its being absolute and invested with "a kind of sovereignty and dominion more especially over the many ports, provinces "and colonies it possesses. . . . . . The power of the Dutch by sea and land "is very great in the East Indies; where by force, address and alliances they raised "themselves and still support a great superiority in spite of the English, Portuguese "and other Europeans that have some trade there; but so inconsiderable that all "together is not equal to what the Hollanders singly enjoy[5]."

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[1] General Letter, 28th Sept. 1687, *apud* Wheeler. I have compared the original in Fort St. George records, Despatches from England, Vol. 8, pp. 203-4.

[2] Bruce III, 78.

[3] Foster's English factories in India, 1622–3, p. 107.

[4] Fryer New Account, 1698, p. 87, writing in January 1674–5.

[5] Grose, Voyage to the East Indies, edition of 1772, I, 322-3. J. H. Grose went to India in 1750, First edition, 1757.

Organisation of the Company in Holland.

The organisation of the Dutch Company was briefly as follows[1]. In Holland it was organised in "Chambers" at the various ports from which ships sailed for the East. Just as the Netherlands themselves were a loose confederation of several states, so the Company was a confederation of the Chambers of Amsterdam, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Each chamber fitted out its own ships and kept its own accounts. The chambers supplied directors to the Company. Their number was 60, 20 for Amsterdam, 12 for Middleburg, 7 for each of the other chambers. The governing body of the confederacy of chambers was a Committee of Seventeen members, commonly referred to as the Seventeen, the Majores, the Principals, etc. Of the 17, 8 were appointed by the Chamber of Amsterdam, 4 by Middleburg, 1 by each of the smaller chambers, and 1 in rotation by Middleburg, by Rotterdam and Delft taken together, and by Hoorn and Enkhuizen taken together. The Seventeen sat for six years at Amsterdam, for the next two years at Middleburg. They gave orders to the government in India, fixed the number of the ships to be fitted out by each chamber, settled the dates of sales of products. They only met three times a year as a rule, but special sub-committees were appointed to prepare drafts of the General letters to India, and for other purposes. The drafts were sent to the several Chambers so that they might instruct their representatives among the Seventeen regarding them before that Assembly met.

The Government in the East.

The Government in the East consisted of a Governor-General and a Council. The Governor-General began by being simply the presiding member; but he soon acquired large powers. Valentijn, who published his eight folios on the East India Company in 1726, writes as follows[2]: "The power of this Heer is very near "that of a King; though he is only President of the Council, and, as it appears at "first sight, bound by the votes of the other members, he can always be master if he "uses his power." In 1617 it was laid down in Instructions that the Council should consist of 9 members besides the Governor-General, the first a commercial expert, the second a man fit to command the fleet, the third the army, the fourth to be also Advocate-General (Fiscal) and a jurist, the fifth to be Director-General for the out-factories, the remaining four, who could seldom be present at headquarters, Governors of the Moluccas, Amboina, Banda and Coromandel. The Governor-General had a casting-vote and the power to settle what office should be held by each of the members. In 1626 the number of the ordinary members of Council was reduced to 8, of whom 4 with the Governor-General at Batavia, and power was given to appoint two extraordinary members. In 1641 the number of ordinary members at headquarters was again raised to 5, in 1646 to 6. Later the Director-General, who was the mercantile as the Governor-General was the political head of the Company in the East, was expressly declared Second in Council and provisional successor of the Governor-General in a vacancy. The members of Council all belonged to the politico-mercantile service of the Company. No professional military member was ever appointed till the year 1786 when the Colonel (Commander-in-Chief) was given a seat in Council, the lowest, and allowed to vote, but only in military matters.

This Council was practically sovereign in the East. The Seventeen could interfere little and only at long intervals. They attempted occasionally, but only occasionally, to exercise control by the appointment of Commissaries or of Independent Fiscals, who combined the offices of a Comptroller-General of Finance and Public Prosecutor, and were, as their designation implies, independent of the Supreme Government.

This was the Council, Haar Hoog-Edelheden or Their High Nobilities, as they were styled, at Batavia, under whose orders the Commandeurs of Cochin stood like other Chiefs of Out-Settlements.

The Services.

The officers at all stations belonged to one or other of various organised services.

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[1] I here follow Klerk de Reus, mainly, for the organisation in the Netherlands.

[2] Valentijn IV (1), 262.

(1) The *Political service* had also mercantile functions. There were various grades, apprentice, junior assistant, assistant book-keeper, under-merchant, merchant, upper-merchant, with at their head in each settlement a Governor, Commandeur, Director, Resident or Chief. They lived largely on private trade or recognised commissions, perquisites and allowances, but the pay of their posts, according to which they ranked, was usually during the greater part of the period of the Company's rule Governor, 200 guilders a month, Commandeur 120 and 150-180 (Malabar), upper-merchant 80-100, merchant 60-70, under-merchant 40, book-keeper 30, assistant 24-26, junior assistant 16-20, apprentice 9-10 (a guilder a month may be taken as about the equivalent of a pound a year). The allowances were in the form of provision allowances, house-rent and free supplies of provisions. They may be taken as usually about doubling the pay. The chief commissions at Amboina under Regulation of the 31st of May, 1755, were 5 per cent. on cottons, etc., to the Governor and Second in Council between them and 20 per cent. on cloves, of which 20 per cent. 40/100ths went to the Governor, 13/100ths to the Second in Council, 6/100ths to the Fiscal, and so on for other members of the political service and the chief members of the military and naval services. The commissions were very valuable. At Amboina, commissions being worth less than elsewhere, the Governor's pay was raised by 6,000 rix-dollars (£1,300) in 1755, yet in that year his commission on cloves alone came to 6,322 rix-dollars, while the Second in Council's commission on cloves was over £400, the Fiscal's over £200, an under-merchant's over £100, the purser-marine's £70, etc. The post of Governor of the North East Coast of Java was reckoned to be worth £20,000 sterling a year in the eighteenth century,[2] and the Director in Bengal told Stavorinus that his house-hold expenses came to Rs. 35,000 a year[3]. In Bengal, as also at some other settlements, a great deal could be made by the private trade which the Company allowed its servants to undertake or by illicit private trade. Valentijn had heard of under-merchants and book-keepers in Bengal chartering vessels of 200 or 300 lasts (tons), under the name of Danes, etc., to trade with the Maldives. He also tells a story of an official who owed "a certain Heer of the first rank" 10,000 rix-dollars which he could not pay. The Heer got him appointed to Bengal as Director. In a very few years he had not only paid his debt but had made so much that at his death he left 300,000 rix-dollars (about £60,000).[1] Another gentleman, who was Director in Persia from 1704 to 1706, made in those three years £270,000 for the Company and not less for himself "without in any way acting contrary to the interests of his masters [5]."

The system in Malabar is explained by Moens [6]. Regulations were drawn up under which prices were fixed for works or goods, not too narrowly, and the subordinate officer charged with execution or provision was expected to make what he could. The Governor and his Second in Council had had to be content with the profits of private trade permitted to them. Moens was dissatisfied with this partly, as he says, because the interests of the Governor might clash with those of the Company, and other abuses might result, but also, I imagine, because not enough could be made at Cochin. He got the Company to take over the old private trade of the Governor and Second and to give them instead 5% on sales of merchandise and 3% on pepper bought, the Governor gettng 4/5ths and the Second 1/5th. I have examined the accounts [7] for the year 1779-1780 and find that the Company's profits on the old private trade amounted to 18,902 guilders in that year, while the commission of the Governor and Second under the new system amounted to 27,383 guilders. The office of Commandeur or Governor of Dutch Malabar, though not one of the more lucrative appointments in the service, may be taken to have been worth, with salary, allowances and commissions, at least two or three thousand pounds a year. It may here be mentioned that the proper designation of the office was Commandeur, and that a Commandeur ranked below a Governor (the Governor in Ceylon had Commandeurs subordinate to him at Jaffna and Galle), but that Moens was entitled to the style of Governor as being also an extraordinary member of the Council of India.

The establishments were somewhat larger in Stein Van Gollenesse's time than in Moens'. We have a complete list of them drawn up when Stein Van Gollenesse

[1] Wilcocke's Stavorinus II, 378-382.
[2] Wilcocke (1798) at p. 131, Vol. II: of his translation of Stavorinus.
[3] Wilcocks's Stavorinus I. 504.
[4] Valentijn V. (1) (1) 176.
[5] Valentijn V. (1) (1) 204.
[6] Chapter XV and Chapter XIII of his Memoir.
[7] MS. No. 1136.

handed over charge to his successor in 1743 A.D. (MS. No. 358). The Malabar Coast Command then consisted of one fortified town, Cochin, four fortresses, Quilon, Cranganore, Chetway and Cannanore, two ruined forts, Castello and Palliport. The Dutch maintained military posts at eleven other places including Alleppey, Ayacotta, Cheramangalam, Paponetty and Ponnani. They also had commercial factories at Purakad between Cochin and Quilon and at Basrur in Canara. Cochin and Quilon were the really important posts. Cochin had an establishment of 1,233 men, of whom 767 were Europeans, and Quilon of 903 men, of whom 332 were Europeans. There were also 40 pensioned Europeans at Cochin. The garrisons of course made up the great majority of these numbers and in 1743 they had been reinforced on account of the war with Travancore. Including Eurasians and natives the total number of the employees was 2,819. The total number of Europeans was 1,426. Of these only about 80 belonged to the political service. At Cochin the members of the political service were the Commandeur, the Second-in-Council, who was an Upper Merchant, 6 Under-Merchants, 15 Bookkeepers, 24 Assistants and 19 Apprentices, or 66 in all. At Quilon there were nine members of this service, at Cannanore four. At Basrur there were two Residents, at Purakad one, at Ponnani one.

In Moens' time the dependencies of Cochin were reduced to four, Quilon (fortified) Cranganore with Ayacotta (both fortified) Cayenculam (unfortified) and Purakad (unfortified). Vingorla (fortified) had already been given up before Stein Van Gollenesse's time, Cannanore (fortified) had been sold in 1771 to a local chief, Chetway (fortified) had been taken by Hyder Ali, European residents were no longer maintained in some stations which had at one time or other been occupied by Dutch factors.[1] The members of the political service in Malabar numbered 48, of whom 43 were stationed at Cochin, two at Quilon, one each at Cranganore, Cayenculam and Purakad [2].

The duties of the service lay in the Warehouse and Storehouse, the Treasury, the Zoldy Comptoir or Pay Office, the Negotie Comptoir or Trade Office, and the Political Secretariat. The political Government was constituted in much the same way as at Batavia. The Commandeur was assisted by a Council composed of members of the political department and the head of the military, and nominally, as at Batavia, the President was only *primus inter pares*. In 1743 there were nine resident members of Council besides the President, in 1761 seven. The Second in Council, also entitled the Hoofd-Administrateur or Chief-Administrator, took the place of the Director-General at Batavia and was in special charge of commercial affairs. The Major or Captain in command of the garrison seems always to have been third in Council. The Fiscal, the Warehouse-keeper, the Paymaster and the Storekeeper also seem always to have been members [3]. Members had the title of "Edele," Honourable. The general title of the subordinate members of the political service was "administrator". They were divided into grades as elsewhere according to their seniority. They were members of Courts of Justice; one of their number was Fiscal (Advocate-fiscal) or Advocate-General. They might also be members of the Fire and Ward Committee, the Church Committee, Committees for education (the Scholarchs) and for the administration of the orphan-fund, the poor fund, the leper-asylum, etc. A political Council might exist in factories subordinate to the chief factory of a settlement. Quilon was sufficiently important in Stein Van Gollenesse's time to have its Council, and the correspondence of the Cochin Council was then addressed to the "Chief, the Lieutenant and the Council of Quilon." [4] At the end of the century letters were still addressed to the Chief and Council of Quilon or else to "the Under Merchant and Chief and the Commandant," but the Under Merchant, an Ensign and a Surgeon seem to have been the only superior officers stationed there then.[5]

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[1] So in 1761 Tengapatnam was a Residency (MS. No. 674) and we have seen that Ponnani was a Residency in 1743.

[2] MS. No. 1136.

[3] See *e.g.* MS. Nos. 358, 674, 1320.

[4] MS. No. 305.

[5] MS. No. 1179. *Cf.* Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, edition of 1834, I, 212: "The next morning (in 1772) we arrived at Quilon, or Coulan, another Dutch settlement; it was formerly a large town belonging to the Portuguese with extensive fortifications; there are now destroyed; the churches are converted into warehouses, and the European inhabitants reduced to a factor, surgeon and a small garrison."

(2) The Dutch Company attached great importance to the *Ecclesiastical Service.* There were two grades, Predikant or Preacher, and Krankenbezoeker or Ziekentrooster (Visitor, Comforter of the Sick) who was something between a Church clerk and a deacon. At Amboina the Preacher ranked fourth after the Governor, the Second and the Captain (Valentijn). Education and religion were not separated in those days, and the Preacher was also President of the Committee of Scholarchs (School Board) and head of the educational department (which in some stations employed numerous teachers, chiefly Eurasians), in subordination to the political Authority. The preacher and deacons were encouraged and instructed to learn the vernacular of the place in which they were stationed and in Malabar also Portuguese. A certain amount of missionary effort, especially among the Roman Catholics, was expected of them. The Preacher's nominal salary was 90 rising to 120 guilders a month at outstations, 110–150 at Batavia. A deacon got 24-36 guilders ; a schoolmaster 7–15. But these officers also received allowances. The emoluments of a Preacher at Batavia are thus reckoned up in Valentijn IV (1), 247 :—

	Guilders a year.
Salary at 130 guilders a month	1,560
Provision allowance at 24–18 guilders	298–16
House-rent at 12–38 rix-dollars	368–8
Butter, 24 lbs. a month	172–16
Wine, 13 large quarts (kan — about 1½ quart) a month ..	280–16
Candles, 14 pounds a month	100–16
Firewood	113–8
Lisbon oil, 4 quarts a month	86–8
Cocoanut oil, 6 quarts a month	14–8
Dutch vinegar, 4 quarts a month	14–8
Water	14–0
Language allowances (1) for Portuguese	48–0
Do. (2) for Malay	48–0
Total ..	3,140–4

or something under £300 sterling a year.

Both in 1743 A.D. and in 1781 A.D. the establishment at Cochin consisted of a Preacher and two Deacons. Two of the Preachers of Cochin, the Rev. Philip Baldaeus, a famous orator according to his contemporary, Schouten [1], and the Rev. J. Canter Visscher, published works dealing with Malabar, which I have frequently had occasion to cite. The Preacher Cascarius assisted Van Rheede in turning the *Hortus Malabaricus* into Latin. The encyclopaedist, Valentijn, who has also been so frequently quoted, was also a Preacher in the Company's service. He seems, however, never to have served in Malabar, and his account of the Malabar settlements is superficial.

(3) In the military service of the Company at the beginning of the 18th century the grades were Serjeant-Major (at Batavia), 120 guilders a month, Chief Engineer (at Batavia) 140, Captain 80–100, Captain-Lieutenant 70, Lieutenant 50–60, Ensign 40, Serjeant 20, Corporal 14, Private 9 [2]. In 1753 higher grades existed.[3] The head of the Company's forces was then a Brigadier on 350 guilders, a Colonel drew 250, a Lieutenant-Colonel 200, a Major 150, a Captain 80. The chief officer of the Malabar garrison had usually the rank of Captain (sometimes Major), was a member of the Political Council and might be a member of judicial benches or administrative committees. In 1743, for instance, he was a member of the Bench of Justices and President of the Court of Wards as well as third member of the Political Council[4]. In 1761 the Captain held these same posts and was also a Director of the Hospital.[5] The sanctioned (peace) strength of the garrisons he commanded was in Stein Van Gollenesse's time 678, of whom 300 at Cochin, 99 at Quilon, 56 at Cranganore, 144 at Chetway and 79 at Cannanore.[6] The actual

[1] Schouten, I. 208. [2] Klerk de Reus, p. 110. [3] Klerk de Reus, App. III. [4] MS. No. 368. [5] MS. No. 674. [6] See p. 82.

strength was 976 Europeans and about 1,100 Malays, Eurasians and natives, or altogether more than 2,000.[1] When the policy of taking part in the wars of the native princes was finally abandoned in 1753 the sanctioned strength was reduced (9th of May 1755) [2] to 462, of whom 226 at Cochin, 96 at Quilon, 33 at Cranganore, 74 at Chetway and 33 at Cannanore.[3] In 1769 the actual garrison at Quilon consisted of only 27 men, at Chetway of only 43.[4] In the time of Governor Moens a somewhat larger garrison had to be maintained owing to the attitude of Hyder Ali of Mysore, though the fort at Cannanore had been sold and that at Chetway lost. In April 1781 the total number of infantry is given as 1,182, of whom over 400 [the last two figures in the original manuscript are lost] Europeans, and of the artillery as 84.[2] Lists dated the end of December 1780 [2] show that the European garrison then numbered 393, and Malay, Eurasian and Native troops 643 and that this garrison had been reinforced by a detachment from Ceylon numbering 298; 882 of the men were at Cochin, 310 at Ayacotta, 92 at Cranganore and 50 at Quilon; total 1,334. In 1787 the sanctioned strength was 828, but the actual numbers were 1,361 of whom 679 natives; in 1788 the actual strength with auxiliaries from Ceylon was 1,901, of whom 410 European infantry, 71 European artillery, 120 topasses, 321 Malays, 56 Malabar artillery, 612 Malabar infantry (chogans), 149 Malabar sepoys and 162 foreign sepoys [5]. By 1793 Cranganore and Ayacotta had been sold to the King of Travancore and it had again been resolved to reduce the garrison to a peace footing. The garrison of Cochin was to be 550 infantry and 50 artillery. Of the artillerymen 30 were to be Europeans, of the infantry 300 in two companies, there being one other company of Malays and one other of Natives. The pay of the 600 men worked out to 83,889 (heavy) guilders or about £7,000 a year. The officers were to be 1 Captain, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, 4 Lieutenants and 6 Ensigns for the two European companies; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants and 1 Ensign for each of the other companies; and a Captain-Lieutenant, a 1st Lieutenant and a Sub-Lieutenant for the artillery [6].

The members of the Political, Naval and Artisan services were also, sometimes at any rate, formed into companies under officers of their own class. So in 1761 the Political Company was commanded by the Second in Council with the rank of Captain, the Paymaster was the Ensign and there were 45 other members; there were two companies formed by the artisans and one by the sailors; there was also a company of 142 "burghers", that is, independent civilians [7].

(4) In the *Naval Service* the ranks were Commandeur or Chef d'Esquadre, 120 guilders a month, Captain-at-Sea, 100, Captain-Lieutenant-at-Sea, 80, Skipper, 60, Lieutenant, 48. Common seamen got about 8*d* a day or a pound a month. On shore the Chief maritime officer at each settlement was the Equipagiemeester, port-officer, master-attendant, or as the English Company called this officer "purser marine." At Cochin there was only one maritime officer who combined the shore and sea commands [8], and the settlement only possessed two sloops and a few smaller vessels in Moens' time, whose uses in war and peace are described in Chapter XI of his Memoir. The number of men in the maritime service at Cochin in 1781 was 128, of whom 45 were Europeans [8]. In 1743 it was considerably greater; 186 Europeans were employed and about 40 natives [9].

(5) The grades in the *Medical Service* were Surgeon-General at Batavia (Hoofd der Chirurgie), 80 guilders a month, Upper Surgeon, 45–63, Surgeons, Under and Third Surgeons 14–30. In 1743 the Company employed eleven medical men at Cochin, four at Quilon, one at Cannanore and three with troops [9]. In 1780 there were two Upper-Surgeons in Malabar, two Surgeons and nine Under and Third Surgeons [10]. Of these medical men 8 were stationed at Cochin, 3 at Ayacotta and one each at Quilon and Cranganore.

(6) The Dutch settlements had a well-developed European *Artisan* (*Ambagt*) *Service*, as it was called, though we should hardly call some of the members of that service, *e.g.*, an Inspector of Fortifications, or Superintendent of the Press, artisans

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1 MS. No. 358.
2 MS. No. 1136.
3 MS. No. 593.
4 MS. No. 855.
5 MS. Nos. 1146 and 1299.
6 MS. No. 1425.
7 MS. No. 674; *cf.* also Batavia Diary, 1653, p. 41.
8 MS. No. 1136.
9 MS. No. 358.
10 MS. No. 1136.

now. At Cochin this service consisted of 113 Europeans in 1743 A.D. of whom 32 attached to the Armoury, 34 to the Fortifications and 37 to the Shipyard, besides a few more in the out-stations, and natives [1]. In Moens' time the establishment was smaller; it consisted of some 40 men in all, of whom 10 were Europeans. Some of them were employed in the ship-building yard under a Superintendent, others were smiths, masons, carpenters, gun-carriage makers.

The heads of the various departments were styled Baas (boss) and were important officials. In 1743 the Foremen of the Armoury, the Fortification Works and the Shipyard were all members of the Fire and Ward Committee and the last named was also a deacon [2].

Institutions.

The various courts and institutions are described or referred to by Stein Van Gollenesse (Chapter III) and Moens (Chapters XVII and XVIII). It will be seen that the question of the separation of judicial from executive functions was one even then agitated in India, and that the administration of justice and charity was fairly well developed. There was a Bench of Justices, a Court for Small Causes and Matrimonial Affairs, a Court of Wards, a Board of Education, a Board of Guardians, an Orphanage, a Hospital, a Leper Asylum, a Ward and Fire Committee and a Church Committee. The Bench of Justices consisted of the Second in Council as President, the Fiscal and eight or nine other senior members of the political or military services. The Court of Small Causes was presided over by the Warehousekeeper in 1743 and 1761 and consisted of seven members besides the President. In 1743 the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, was a member. The members of the Court of Wards in 1743 included the Chief Surgeon of the Hospital and a Sergeant. It was presided over by the Military Commandant and consisted of eight members.

Commerce.

The commerce of Cochin is described fairly fully by Moens (Chapters XII and XIII). The Company's local trade in the few articles in which it maintained a monopoly, though small, was very profitable. I find from the accounts of the year 1779–80 [3] that in that year merchandise, the invoice value of which was 110,063 guilders, was sold for 277,081 guilders or at a profit of about 150 per cent. The profit on the separate branch of trade, which had formerly been in the hands of the Governor and Second in Council in their private capacity, and was not monopolised, was from Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 23,000 a year from 1773–74 to 1779–80 and averaged Rs. 18,300. The cost of purchases and all expenses in this branch of trade amounted to about a lakh and a half of rupees a year and the profit was a mere 12 to 14 per cent [4]. The Company did not usually care to undertake trade in articles on which the profits were not enormous and only took over this branch at Cochin in special circumstances which have been explained above. Both in its European and its local trade the Company's policy was to obtain a monopoly of a few very valuable articles and fix its own price. The trade in other articles remained free or free under restrictions and the Company's officers were allowed and encouraged to take their share in it. It gave Mr. Moens pleasure to see every servant of the Company doing his little bit of trade [5]. The total trade was considerable. James Forbes (1766–84) says "I have occasionally resided there (at Cochin) several weeks when transacting business for the East India Company: it was a place of great trade, and presented a striking contrast to Goa; a harbour filled with ships, streets crowded with merchants, and warehouses stored with goods from every part of Asia and Europe, marked the industry, the commerce, and the wealth of the inhabitants" [6].

The Dutch settlements in Malabar were maintained principally in order that pepper, on which the profit was very large, might be collected for the European market. The amount of pepper collected by the Company varied in accordance with its relations with the native princes, from whom it obtained the spice at rates very much below the market value. In the year 1726 A.D. 1,952,979 lbs. were despatched from Malabar [7]. In 1746 it was not possible to collect more than 541,189 lbs. [8]

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[1] MS. No. 358. [2] MS. No. 358. [3] MS. No. 1136.
[4] Letters to Batavia in MS. No. 1154. [5] P. 226 below. [6] Forbes' Oriental Memoirs edition of 1834, I, 207.
[7] MS. No. 147. [8] MS. No. 593.

After 1753, when peace was made with Travancore, more pepper was again obtained. Travancore himself delivered about a million pounds on an average from 1753 to 1756 A.D. and about a million and a half on an average for the next four years; in which the total collections were nearly ten million pounds. Between the 1st of October 1755 and 30th of September 1756 the amount of pepper collected from Travancore was 1,494,451 lbs., from Cochin 533,505 lbs., at Cranganore 21,181 lbs., at Cannanore 153,000 lbs.; total 2,202,837 lbs.[1] From 1778 to 1780 the amount collected averaged something over a million lbs., of which almost the whole was supplied by Travancore. The amount for 1778 was 1,136,000 lbs.,[2] for 1779 1,199,000, for 1780 1,060,000 lbs., of which Travancore supplied 1,002,000. Pepper was sold in Holland in the 18th century at three to five times the price—less than the market rate even there—which the Dutch paid in Malabar. The equivalent of £12,000 to £18,000 sterling would buy in Malabar a million pounds of pepper, which would be sold in Europe for the equivalent of £50,000 to £80,000 after deducting wastage. Other products were sent home from Malabar, turmeric, cardamons, cloths, cowries, but only in small quantities and at moderate profits[3].

Finances.

The local revenues, which consisted of small territorial revenues, customs, excise and tolls and the profits of trade other than the European trade, were usually insufficient to cover the expenses. The Company's trade profits were not large. The territorial and other revenues amounted in 1741–2 (in time of war) to 43,484 light guilders or Rs. 25,840 (at 16 rupees = 27 guilders) of which 9,000 guilders from Quilon, 9,000 from Province Papponetty and 12,000 from other lands and islands[4]. In 1755–6 they were 70,516 guilders of which 13,000 from Quilon, 15,000 from the Province, 17,000 from other lands and islands[5]. In 1779–80 in the time of Moens, after the loss of the Province and the sale of Cannanore, the revenues were 54,984 guilders (or Rs. 45,570 at 5 rupees = 6 guilders)[6]. In that year the total of the nett trade profits (162,604 guilders) and the revenues (54,984 guilders) was 217,639 guilders (Rs. 1,81,365), while the total charges, including 119,000 guilders charged to preparations for war with Hyder Ali, 46,000 to fortifications, 30,000 to ships, 129,000 to salaries, and so on, amounted to 377,918 guilders (Rs. 3,14,932)[7]. The year before the charges had been higher—490,000 guilders (Rs. 4,08,333), but the revenue had also been higher, trade profits having been larger, and had amounted to nearly 415,000 guilders (Rs. 3,45,833).

When Stein Van Gollenesse wrote the charges were abnormal on account of the war with Travancore. They amounted to 1,216,333 light guilders (a little over 7 lakhs of rupees) in 1741–2 and to 869,265 light guilders (a little over 5 lakhs) in 1742–3, the revenue being 320,000 and 340,000 guilders[8] (about 2 lakhs). Twenty years earlier, in time of peace, the only Dutch factory on the West Coast which showed a profit was Basrur, there being a loss of nearly 200,000 guilders on Cochin, 17,000 on Quilon, 8,000 on Cannanore and 800 on Puracad[9]. From 1752 to 1760 the revenues averaged about 300,000 guilders a year, the charges about 400,000[10]. From 1760 to 1768 the revenues and charges about balanced at 400,000 guilders as is shown in the table on p. 5 above, while at the beginning of Moens' administration profits were realised. But as has been explained already these are merely the local accounts, the accounts of trade with Europe being kept separately; and the Dutch did not maintain the Malabar Settlements so much for the sake of the local revenues and trade, as for the European trade, and especially the pepper trade.

XI

European rivals.

The relations of the Dutch at Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore with the English, first at Purakad, then at Anjengo and Calicut and afterwards Tellicherry and Anjengo were friendly or otherwise according to circumstances. The Dutch began

[1] MS. No. 593 and 673.
[2] MS. No. 1134.
[3] Letters from Holland and printed price-lists sent with them to be found in MS. Nos. 137, 745, 1134.
[4] See p. 71.
[5] MS. Nos. 593, 1151.
[6] MS. No. 1136.
[7] MS. No. 1136.
[8] MS. No. 357.
[9] Accounts of 1724-5 in MS. No. 148.
[10] MS. No. 673.

with pretensions to a monopoly of the trade of the Coast. In 1663 they concluded a treaty with the prince of Purakad, who granted them a trade monopoly, and they then contended that the English factory at Purakad had no right to further supplies, and eventually enforced their contention by seizing the factory [1]. In 1714–1717, while the Dutch were at war with the Zamorin, there was some trouble about an English "house" at "Chittoa" (Chetway). The Zamorin had disputed the Dutch claim to Chetway but had given them "a writing that since he would not permit them he should not permit "any other European nation a settlement there.[2]" Now the English had a house there which was "the Hon'ble Campany's house but went in the Linguist's" [Eurasian resident's] "name [2]" In the campaign of 1717, when the Dutch occupied Chetway, the King of Cochin, who was assisting them, "went to the place where the "English had a flag-staff together with a house, both of which he had pulled down "by his Nairs." [3] Meanwhile Mr. Adams, Chief of Calicut and then of Tellicherry, seems to have given what assistance he could to the Zamorin.[4] The feeling between Dutch and English seems to have been bitter at this time. At any rate Canter Visscher devotes one of his letters from Malabar (1717–1723) to an attack upon the English, whom he accuses of ill-conduct towards the natives both in Malabar and Sumatra and declares to be exceedingly unpopular with them. He describes the massacres of Bencoolen and Anjengo as the natural result of English oppression. These are imputations commonly made in similar circumstances; when one European nation attacked another in the East the position of deliverer of the Malay or the Indian from the oppression of the rival Europeans was not only morally elevating but implied hopes of native assistance. So we find the Portuguese Viceroy writing to his King in 1635 that if only he would send him troops, he would easily get the better of the Dutch "since they were everywhere cordially hated, and only succeeded "in carrying on trade by means of the forces at their disposal [5]", while in 1781 after war had been declared against Holland, the Governor of Fort Marlborough wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George that the Dutch Government was everywhere "abhorred" by the country people and he was persuaded that the appearance of ships alone at some settlements would occasion a revolt.[6] The English factors on the Coast at the beginning of the 18th century were too weak to be very oppressive, and the proper inference from the Rev. J. Canter Visscher's denunciations seems to be only that they were very disagreeable to the Dutch; and indeed when the fort at Anjengo and Tellicherry were built at the end of the 17th century, it was intended to break up the Dutch practical monopoly of the pepper trade; [7] and, the wish being father to the thought, it was even reported in 1699–1700 that "the Dutch were withdrawing "their factories and establishments on the Malabar Coast having found it impossible "to engross the whole of the pepper trade of that country." [8] The Dutch did not, however, abandon the Coast, where for nearly another century they probably did a bigger trade than any of their competitors, Portuguese, English, French or Dane. Cochin was moreover a most useful intermediate port between Batavia and Surat, Mocha and Persia. They could not wish to see it fall again into Portuguese hands, or into English or French hands (as it doubtless would have if they had abandoned it), not only on account of the pepper trade but because it was an outpost of Ceylon, and a port in which a hostile fleet could be conveniently collected for an attack on that island.[9] But though they did not abandon the Coast, the competition of other European nations could not but be displeasing to them, and disputes about the non-return of deserters,[10] about the grant of passes to native ships, about supplies of war material furnished to native princes, and so on were common. In 1756 I find the Dutch Commandeur still complaining about the "jealousy" of European rivals which was "nothing new", about the Danes at Calicut furnishing the Zamorin, who

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[1] (a) Batavia Diary, 1663 to 1665. See above p. 10.
(b) Forrest's Bombay Records, Home Series, 1, 27.

[2] MS. Diary of Stephen Strutt, 1714. A deed of the Zamorin's dated 1715 permitting the English Chief, Mr. Adams, to build a warehouse at Chetway, is printed in Logan's Treaties, p. 3.

[3] MS. Diary of the Campaign (MS. No. 98) under date 28th January 1717.

[4] (a) Dutch Diary of the Campaign.
(b) Reference in Tellicherry Diary of 1743-4, p. 67. See above p. 21.

[5] Danvers II, 243.

[6] Bengal Selections, 1772-85, p. 843.

[7] Bruce III, 194, 205.

[8] Bruce III, 313.

[9] Canter Visscher, Letter VI.

[10] *Eg.* see p. 86

was again at war with the Dutch, with powder and shot and seven cannoneers, and about the English "who are only precariously established at Anjengo" requiring native ships to take passes from them [1].

However the town diaries show that foreign European ships constantly put in at Cochin, Mr. Stephen Strutt of the English Company's service was courteously received at Cochin in 1714, James Forbes, also a member of that service, who kept journals in India from 1766 to 1784, writes in his Oriental Memoirs [2] that during his visits to Cochin on his Company's business he always received the kindest attention from the Governor and the principal inhabitants, whose tables were furnished with hospitality and graced with politeness, and when Tellicherry was besieged by Mysore troops in 1780, Moens wrote courteous letters and complied with requisitions for supplies [3]. On the 24th of February 1782 I find the Anjengo Chief suggesting an attack on Cochin which he thought "would prove an easy conquest" [4], but England had declared war on Holland in Europe on the 20th of December 1780, and the news had been received in the East by July 1781 [5].

In general there seems to have been peace, but not often friendliness, between the Dutch and other Europeans on the West Coast in the 18th Century. They would intrigue against one another with native princes, supply one another's enemies and harbour one another's deserters. The different European settlements would only very occasionally unite against a common enemy. So there was one joint expedition during the century of English and Portuguese [6] against pirates and another of Dutch and English (1750) [7]. If Moens assisted Tellicherry against the Mysoreans, it must be remembered that the Dutch also were at variance with Hyder Ali. Ten years later, in 1790, when Tippu broke through the Travancore lines and the Dutch expected to be besieged in Cochin, they proposed to join the English alliance with Travancore, but received a long and evasive reply from Lord Cornwallis and Council politely declining their help [8]. However in the ensuing May I find Col. Hartley in command of a detachment from Bombay writing: "Having a greater quantity of stores and ammunition than is immediately wanted in the Field, I have made a depot at Cochin, the Governor Mynheer Angelbeck, readily offering every assistance." [9]

XII

Stein Van Gollenesse and Moens and their times.

Stein Van Gollenesse and Moens both seem to have been officials of some merit. At any rate each of them reached the second position in the Dutch Empire in the East, that of Senior Ordinary Member of the Supreme Council at Batavia and Director-General. After leaving Malabar, Stein Van Gollenesse was Governor of Ceylon and extraordinary and then ordinary member of Council from 1743 to 1751. He went to Batavia as Director-General in 1751 [10]. Moens went direct from Cochin to Batavia, served as ordinary member of Council there and became Director-General in due course.[11]

Stein Van Gollenesse lost a girl of seven and a boy a year old at Cochin in 1739. They were buried in the church of St. Francis, where the inscription may still be read. The boy was called Gustaaf Willem, which were the Christian names of Van Imhoff. Stein Van Gollenesse is associated in Ceylon with the building of Wolfendal Church, Colombo [12], on the facade of which his initials and the date 1749 are still to be seen.[13]

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1 MS. No. 593.
2 Edition of 1834, 1, 207.
3 Tellicherry Diary, 1780; letters dated 5th and 23rd December 1780.
4 Anjengo Diary, 1782.
5 (a) MS. No. 1184; (b) Bengal Selections, p. 772.
6 Danvers II, 390.
7 MS. No. 519.
8 Secret Resolution of 2nd August 1790, in MS. No.1320; Lord Cornwallis letter is dated 15th January 1790.
9 Military Consultations, Vol. 133 in the Fort St. George Records.
10 Anthonisz, Report on Colombo Records, p. 46.
11 Signatures to Batavia Letters in the records.
12 Anthonisz, p. 32.
13 Cotton, p. 269.

I have found occasional mention of Moens in travellers' books of the period. Stavorinus stayed with him for a fortnight in December, 1776, and he gave Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo a letter of introduction to the King of Travancore in 1780. Fra Paolino notes that the King of Travancore "had studied English for several months and spoke it very well." The King of Cochin who succeeded in 1787 "spoke Dutch exceedingly well and was desirous of learning English also." Travancore and Cochin had already in Moens' time realized that Dutch influence was giving way to English. In 1786 the King of Travancore paid a visit to Moens' successor, Van Angelbeek, at Cochin. He conversed in the English language and it is noted that "he reads the English newspapers of London, Madras and Calcutta whereby he has acquired much knowledge which would be sought in vain in other Malabar princes.[1]" Van Angelbeek's "Memoir" written in 1793 contains very little except an account of the Dutch relations with the English; the Dutch no longer pretended to influence in Travancore and scarcely in Cochin, they had sold all the territory they could get rid of including the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta to Travancore or the Cochin noble Palyat Achan between 1785 and 1789 A.D.[2], and reduced their garrison at Cochin to a minimum footing. When war with England broke out again in 1795 the capture of Cochin was an easy matter. The war with England of 1781 to 1784 had practically destroyed the Dutch Company's influence outside the Archipelago, the Cape and Ceylon, and financially ruined it. In 1795 Holland was divided against itself. The French revolution had overwhelmed the Netherlands and the fugitive prince, William V, had taken refuge in England, and in a circular issued from Kew exhorted his late subjects to place their colonies under the protection of Great Britain.

Stein Van Gollenesse's Memoir describes Malabar as it was when it might still have become a Dutch possession and the Dutch were still much more powerful there than any of their European rivals, gives a brief but clear account of the numerous warring principalities among which it was then divided, and throws light upon the Dutch policy and ambitions of the time. Moens, though he wrote when Dutch influence had waned and though he does not appear to have been a man of much cultivation, has yet left us a work of real interest and value. He confesses his ignorance of the French[3] language, and of the fact that the learned world was not without information regarding the history of Christianity of Malabar[4]. He had perhaps too not a very strong sense of humour and from the remarks made by the Batavia Council on the judicial portion of the Memoir[5], it would seem he was not a great jurist. But he seems to have been a very earnest and laborious gentleman and his discursive Memoir, besides giving a fairly complete view of the administration when Dutch rule in Cochin was nearing its close, contains interesting chapters on Hyder Ali, the Jews of Cochin, and the Syrian Christians. The facts related about Hyder Ali's relations with the Dutch and some of the Malabar princes seem to be new; at any rate Wilks has no better authority for his few pages on the subject than the defective chapter on the history of the Malabar settlements in Stavorinus' travellers' book, and the latest biographer of Hyder Ali scarcely refers to it. Other attempts have been made since Moens' time to translate the ancient Jewish charter; but the three translations he gives are not without their interest. Books have since been written on the Syrian Christians, but his dissertation, which in part at least is based on contemporary Dutch records, may be considered of some value. Moens had studied the Cochin records carefully and gives numerous references to the papers from which he compiled different portions of his memoir. It accordingly contains among other things a storehouse of references which will be useful to persons who may wish to study the history and administration of the Dutch settlements in Malabar at first hand.

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1 Notes of the Interview in MS. No. 1299.

2 Secret Resolutions in MS. No. 1320, especially resolution of 29th of July 1789, where the draft of the Treaty for the sale of the forts is given. A summary of the various sales, nine in number, is given in letter to Batavia of 30th April 1790 in MS. No. 1299. The sales realised about five lakhs of rupees.

3 P. 180.

4 P. 180.

5 MS. No. 1134. See App. X.

Brief Bibliography.

A. Books necessary to a student of the subject:—

(1) *Batavia Diary.*—Daghregister gehouden in't Casteel Batavia. Printed at the Hague. In progress. The following volumes have appeared:

Volume for the Year:	Published in the Year:
1624–9	1896
1631–4	1898
1636	1899
1637	1899
1640–1	1887
1641–2	1900
1643–4	1902
1644–5	1903
1647–8	1903
1653	1888
1656–7	1901
1659	1889
1661	1889
1663	1891
1664	1893
1665	1894
1666	1895
1668–9	1897
1670–1	1898
1672	1899
1673	1901
1674	1902
1675	1902
1676	1903
1676	1904
1677	1904
1678	1908
1679	1909

Contains abstracts of despatches from all parts of the Dutch possessions, India, Ceylon, Japan, China, as well as the Archipelago.

Invaluable to the historian.

(2) *J. K. J. De Jonge*: De Opkomst Van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost Indië (Rise of the Dutch power in East India). The Hague. 13 Vols, 1862–1888.

A collection of documents from the Company's archives with a full introduction to each volume; deals almost entirely with Java. A Supplement in 3 more volumes by P. A. Tiele and E. Heeres (1886–1895) deals chiefly with the other islands in the Archipelago. Their lost possessions do not seem to interest the Dutch much. Collections relating chiefly to the Cape, India or Ceylon would be of great interest to students of the history of the British Empire.

(3) *François Valentijn*: Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie (Old and New East India), Dordrecht & Amsterdam, 1724-6, 5 parts folio. Usually bound in 8 Vols. Encyclopedic account of the possessions of the Dutch Company. A work of vast bulk containing amongst other things many excerpts from old official documents. The account of Malabar is superficial, but the account of Ceylon contains valuable reports on, *inter alia*, Malabar, made by Governors of Ceylon, under which Malabar at first stood. A modern abridgment of Valentijn issued by one Keijzer in 1862 is useless for our purposes as the parts dealing with lost possessions are omitted. The old edition contains maps and also views and plans of Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore. Valentijn was son of the master of the Latin school at Dordrecht and was born on the 17th April 1666. He studied at Utrecht and Leyden and in 1684 was appointed a chaplain in the East India Company's service. He started for the East in May 1685 and arrived at Amboina in May 1686. In 1687 he was transferred to Banda, in 1688 back to Amboina. In 1695 he was back in Holland. He remained in Holland 10 years and returned to Batavia in 1705. In 1706 he was chaplain to the army on the

East Coast of Java. From 1707 to 1712 he was again chaplain at Amboina, in 1713 at Batavia, in 1714 back in Holland. He died in 1727. His book is a most comprehensive work and still indispensable to the student.

(4) *J. Canter Visscher*: Letters from Malabar, 1743. The letters were published by his brother after his death. The author was chaplain at Cochin from 1717–1723 and then at Batavia. He died in 1736. English translation by Major Drury, Madras, 1862. A series of 27 letters on politics and policy, the people, the coinage, flora and fauna. Much of the information reads as if it were taken from Memoirs of the old Commandeurs. The author seems to have been a little prejudiced and uncritical, but his local knowledge is valuable.

(5 *Encyclopaedie Van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Encyclopædia of Netherland-India) by P. A. Van der Lith and others; the Hague, 1895–1907; four volumes. A valuable work with much information on the antiquities of the Dutch Company. The lost possessions are, however, as usual, scarcely referred to.

(6) *G. C. Klerk de Reus*: Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Administrativen, Rechtlichen und Financiellen Entwicklung der Nederlandisch-Ostindischen Compagnie, Batavia and the Hague, 1894. Valuable work on the administrative, financial and judicial development of the Dutch Company with numerous statistical tables.

Useful Works.

(1) *Johan Nieuhof*: Zee-en-lant Reize (Sea and Land Journey), 1682. Nieuhof served in Malabar. Translation in Churchill's Collection.

(2) Father *Giuseppe di Santa Maria*, otherwise Monsignor Sebastiani, Bishop of Hierapolis. First and second expeditions printed at Rome (in Italian) 1666 and 1672 A.D. Was a Carmelite and sent out on special missions to the Syrian Christians (1657–58 and 1660–3). Describes the two sieges of Cochin and gives many particulars regarding the Syrian Christians &c.

(3) *Philippus Baldaeus*: Description of Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon 1672. Translation in Churchill's Collection, which preserves the valuable prints. Accompanied the expedition against the Cochin of 1661–2 as Chaplain.

(4) *Wouter Schouten*, Oost-Indische Voyagie (East-Indian-Voyage), 1676. Surgeon in the Company's service. Accompanied Cochin Expedition of 1661–2. There are several editions and a French translation. My references are to the edition of 1740.

(5) *S. P. J. Du Bois*: Vies des Gouverneurs-Generaux avec l'abrégé de l'histoire des Etablissemens Hollandois aux Indes Orientales. The Hague 1763. Uncritical. Contains a translation of Van Imhoff's Considerations of 1740.

(6) *J. S. Stavorinus*, Voyages, (*a*) 1768–71, published at Leyden in 1793, (*b*) 1774–8, Leyden 1797–98. Combined in translation with notes by S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798. Stavorinus visited Cochin in Moens' time.

(7) *The Abbé Raynal*: Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes, 1770. Numerous editions; English versions 1776 and 1798 (6 volumes).

(8) *Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo.* Viaggio alle Indie Orientali (Voyage to the East Indies). Rome, 1796. Uncritical. He was in India 1776–1789. English translation, 1800.

(9) *N. G. van Kampen:* Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa. Haarlem, 1831.

(10) *Dr. F. Day. The Land of the Permauls, Madras*, 1863. Untrustworthy. Two or three of his most dubious anecdotes are taken from a pamphlet entitled Historical Notices of Cochin by the *Rev. T. Whitehouse*, 1859.

(11) *Manuscript Diaries* of Tellicherry and Anjengo (from 1726 and 1744 respectively with breaks) in the Madras Government's record-rooms. Also manuscript Diary of Mr. Stephen Strutt, 1714.

(12) *Glossaries*: Yule & Burnell (Hobson-Jobson) and Macleane (Vol. III. Manual of the Madras Administration) are useful for words taken from the eastern languages by *both* Dutch and English, but are of course Anglo-Indian and not Hollando-Indian glossaries and leave many of the Indian or Malay words which occur in these Dutch records unexplained.

Brief Note on Coinage and Weights.

(Further information in foot-notes to the text.)

When the Dutch first came to the East they found the Spanish dollar (real, real of eight, weight 27·045 grams = about 417 grains) in general use. They used this at first, and afterwards substituted the rix-dollar. Dollars are in general large silver coins of about 50*d.* to 60*d.* In Stein Van Gollenesse's time the rix-dollar was 48 stivers or pence in the East. The common Bengal bazaar rupee and other rupees current at Cochin (*e.g.* the Persian) were there reckoned 27 stivers, the Sicca and Surat rupees being a stiver or two more. The rix-dollar was the standard coin. Other coins with rough values in rix-dollars and rupees are shown in the table below, the values being taken from actual entries in Dutch or English (Malabar) records of the time. The rupee was of course worth much more gold than it is now. It was reckoned at 8 to the pound sterling in the Tellicherry accounts of 1743, in the Tellicherry and Anjengo accounts of 1780 and in the intermediate years so far as I have seen. The values are *rough* because the exchange value was constantly changing and the fluctuations were large. So I find Gold Rupees (or Gold Mohurs) selling at Batavia at prices varying from $21\frac{1}{4}$ to $25\frac{1}{2}$ guilders in the course of the ten years 1730–40 [1]. This seems to have depended partly on variations in the coin itself. The value of weighed gold did not fluctuate quite as much in those years.

Table.

Gold Coinage about 1740 A.D.

1. Gold Rupee or Mohur = about $7\frac{1}{4}$ rix-dollars
   = about 13 silver rupees.
2. European gold ducat
   (" Venetians " and others) = about $2\frac{1}{2}$ rix-dollars
   = about $4\frac{1}{6}$ rupees.
3. Moorish gold ducat
   (Turkish and others) = about $2\frac{1}{4}$ rix-dollars
   = about 4 rupees.
4. Pagoda (of Ikkeri and other West
   Coast Mints) = 2 rix-dollars or a little less
   = $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees or a little less.

The ducats and pagodas were nearly the same weight, a little under $3\frac{1}{2}$ grams = a little over 50 grains. The ducats were better gold and about a grain heavier. According to Shekleton's Assay Tables ducats of 1781–91 average 53·44 grains of which 52·326 pure, Ikkeri pagodas 52·4 grains of which 44·3 pure and Travancore pagodas 52·46 grains of which 37·3 pure.

Silver Coinage about 1740 A.D.

Rix-dollar	=	8 schellings
	=	48 stivers
	=	192 doits
	=	$1\frac{7}{9}$ths rupees
	=	32 Cochin fanams.
Rupee	=	27 stivers
	=	$4\frac{1}{2}$ schellings
	=	$\frac{9}{16}$ths rix-dollars
	=	18 Cochin fanams.

Dollars, of which the various rix-dollars were some of several varieties, weighed as a rule more than double the rupee, but contained a little less than twice the amount of pure silver.

Base Metal Coinage about 1740 A.D.

1 Cochin fanam = 60 buseruks (budgerooks).

The fanam was originally a gold coin of about 6 grains. The Cochin fanam only contained one part of fine gold to $4\frac{1}{2}$ of silver and $4\frac{1}{2}$ of copper [2]. Budgerooks were minted by the Dutch of a mixture of lead and tin. The Dutch also minted copper budgerooks of which 275 went to the rix-dollar at Cochin according to Valentijn.

[1] MS. No. 322.

[2] Canter Visscher, Van Rheede's Memoir, 1677.

The guilder or florin, which was used in keeping the accounts, was properly a silver coin of 20 pence or stivers weighing about 150 grains or $\frac{5}{8}$ths of a rupee. In Stein Van Gollenesse's time it was reckoned in the accounts at 16 stivers or one-third of a rix-dollar and this imaginary account guilder, which was devised to enable the Company to make a profit on salaries, etc., was called the "light" guilder. In Moens' time the guilder of the general accounts was the heavy guilder of 20 stivers.

The price of gold at Batavia, 1730–40, was from $50\frac{7}{20}$ths to $53\frac{15}{20}$ths light guilders per real (417 grains); of silver $3\frac{17}{20}$ths to $4\frac{2}{20}$ths guilders; *i.e.* the ratio of gold to silver was about 13 to 1.

In Moens' time (1780) the rupee was in more general use. It was reckoned at $\frac{6}{5}$ths guilders "heavy" money, $1\frac{1}{2}$ guilders "light" money. Dollars were about 2 rupees, Venetian and other European ducats slightly over 4 rupees, "Moorish ducats" slightly under. The Cochin fanam was reckoned at 20 to the rupee instead of 18.

Weights.—The pound commonly referred to in these records seems to have been, as elsewhere in the Company's possessions, the old Amsterdam pound = ·494 chilogrammes = about 1·09 English pounds avoirdupois. A Dutch pound of 1·09 English pounds was still in use at Cochin in Dr. Day's time (1863)[1]. The common *last* or ton was 3,000 Dutch pounds. Other common weights are the *catti* and *picol* introduced from the Archipelago. The Dutch usually reckoned the catti at $1\frac{1}{4}$ and the picol at 125 lbs. They also used the common Malabar measures *candy* and *parra*, reckoning the pepper candy at 500 Dutch lbs., and, in the earlier period at any rate, 14 parras to the candy. For grain 75 parras were reckoned to the last of 3,000 pounds. The pepper candy was accordingly about 545 English pounds. The grain parra was 40 Dutch pounds[2]. For raw cotton and cotton cloths the Travancore and Madura weight *palam* was used. It varied slightly according to locality, but was reckoned at about $\frac{1}{6}$th of a Dutch pound[3]. Goldsmiths' weights were then as now in Travancore the *kalanju* and the *fanam*. The Dutch used the Spanish *manca* and *real*. In a diary written in Travancore in 1739 the following equivalents are given; 1 manca = 48 kalanjus = 9 reals[4]. A real was 27·045 grams[5] or about 417·368 grains. 1 kalanju accordingly = $78\frac{1}{4}$ grains. The modern Travancore kalanju is 78 grains and 13 fanams of 6 grains each[6]. The old Travancore fanam was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 grains, as the old fanam coins show, and accordingly it may be assumed that there has been practically no variation in goldsmiths' weights in Travancore since 1739. It is to be observed that though gold fanam coins seem all to have weighed about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 grains, they varied greatly in value according to their composition[7]. The Quilon fanam, referred to commonly by both Portuguese and Dutch as the Raja fanam, must have been good gold as its value is given in 1723 as $2\frac{1}{2}$ schellings[8] (= 15 stivers), in 1743 as $\frac{41}{128}$ rix-dollars[9] (= $15\frac{3}{5}$ stivers), in 1781 as $15\frac{9}{25}$ stivers and $\frac{64}{125}$ of a rupee[10]. The coin referred to as "the gold fanam" of Chetway and the neighbourhood, which is shown by entries in MS. No. 848 and elsewhere to have been the Calicut fanam, was reckoned at 8 to the rix-dollar ($4\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee) in 1742[11] and later at about five to the rupee or $17\frac{1}{2}$ to the pagoda and so could only have contained three grains of gold. The Travancore gallioon (kaliyan) fanam was reckoned at 9 to the rix-dollar ($5\frac{1}{16}$ to the Rupee) in 1727[12] and exchanged later at 6 or 7 to the Rupee; the Cochin fanam, in which there was only about half a grain of gold, at 18, $19\frac{1}{2}$, 20 to the Rupee at different times.

7th March 1909. A. GALLETTI.

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[1] Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 577.

[2] Authorities (1) Valentijn IV (I) 362, (2) Encl. Neder. Indie, (3) entries in the Madras Dutch records, *e.g.*, MS. Nos. 741 & 1066, MS. No. 1054, p. 177, where we have 363,900 lbs. = $9,097\frac{1}{2}$ parra.

[3] MS. No. 281.

[4] MS. No. 281.

[5] Enc. Van Nderl. Indie, article Maten en Gewichten.

[6] Travancore Manual.

[7] *Cf.* Shekleton's Assay Tables, Calcutta, 1868.

[8] Canter Visscher.

[9] P. 73 below.

[10] MS. No. 1158.

[11] MS. No. 357, Letter to Holland, 1742, $5488\frac{1}{4}$ gold fanams = $686\frac{1}{16}$ rix-dollars.

[12] Letter to Batavia, dated 30th April 1727, in MS. No. 148, 2,000 fanams galjoens = $22\frac{2}{3}$ 2 six-dollars.

MEMORANDUM

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MALABAR COAST

COMPOSED BY

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE EXTRAORDINARY MEMBER OF COUNCIL, GOVERNOR-ELECT OF CEYLON AND OUTGOING COMMANDEUR OF MALABAR

JULIUS VALENTIJN STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE

FOR HIS SUCCESSOR

THE WORSHIPFUL COMMANDEUR REINICUS SIERSMA

IN THE YEAR 1743 A.D.

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. A. J. VAN DER BURG AND A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.,

WITH NOTES BY

A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

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INTRODUCTION.

While complying with orders received from Their Right Worshipfuls the Indian Government at Batavia by despatch, dated the 11th August last, to compose before my departure a memorandum relating to the state of affairs on this coast, I am in doubt as to whether to write concisely or circumstantially and according as the subject matter requires. No doubt the former plan would be the better if it could give the reader a good and clear idea of the state of affairs. Much reading is only a weariness of the flesh and more than enough has already been written about Malabar. But there are certain points which of their own nature require a great many words to explain, concisely as you may wish to put them; besides a large number of remarkable events have occurred during the eight years of my administration and so I should be almost inclined to write a detailed account; the more so when I recall to mind what a large amount of work it gave me in the beginning to acquaint myself with such a great number of kings, princes and smaller rulers. Their names alone are learned only with difficulty—not to speak of their morals, usages, laws, interests and affairs. However a thorough knowledge of all these different points is absolutely necessary if the Company's representative wishes faithfully to promote its interests, while on the other hand ignorance may easily lead to misunderstanding and mistakes, and though for you, Sir, who have spent many years on this coast, a detailed account would not appear to be so necessary, it may be of use to others.

However on reading over the memoir of Commandeur Hendrik Van Rheede[1], dated March 17th, 1677, which he left to his successor Jacob Lobs, I find that this elaborate work treats of the Malabar kings and native affairs so admirably that neither I nor any one else could presume to handle the matter better; and so I beg to refer your Worship to this work. But I must point out that the number of Nairs is much smaller than that given by the writer; his calculation is probably based upon the times

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[1] The memory of Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede of Drakestein, Baron of Mydrecht, is preserved by a fine monument at Surat, where he lies buried, and a monument still more enduring, the *Hortus Malabaricus* or Botany of Malabar in 12 volumes folio with 794 illustrations. The remains of his Memoir on Malabar still exist in the Madras records (MS. No. 7), but very little of it is now decipherable. There is a copy in the Hague General Record Office. He was born about 1637 A.D., came out in the military service of the Company and was supernumerary Captain at the siege of Cochin in 1663 (Batavia Diary). He distinguished himself during the siege and Rijklof van Goens, Commandeur of the expedition, had him appointed full Captain. After the capture of Cochin he was set to work as Superintendent of the Topasses (half-castes, etc.) whom the Portuguese had left there and ingratiated himself with these people. Van Goens was much struck with his ability, employed him on political missions and eventually, in 1670, got him appointed Commandeur of Cochin "as being an able and efficient officer, particularly experienced in the affairs of Malabar" (Report of Van Goens, dated 1675 in Valentijn). However van Goens did not approve of his conduct in this appointment and afterwards accused him of pride and ingratitude. The quarrel seems to have been about the fortifications of Cochin regarding which van Rheede appears to have had somewhat grandiose ideas. He was accused of being never satisfied with the plans, but of always chopping and changing with the result that he spent over 800,000 guilders (say £70,000) when he was expected only to spend 450,000. Van Goens observes that having been a military man he did not understand the value of money. In 1677, a few months before van Goens became Governor-General, van Rheede joined the appointment to which he had meanwhile been promoted of Extraordinary Member of the Batavia Council. He arrived at Batavia on the 13th of May, 1677 (Batavia Diary), and soon after obtained leave to go home to the "dear Fatherland." He started home as Vice-Admiral of the Return Fleet on the 24th of November 1677. The *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* began to appear in 1678 and van Rheede doubtless spent some of his leisure arranging the botanical notes he had collected with the help of natives and others in Malabar. He also received assistance from Dutch men of science. In 1684 he was sent out again to the East "Invested with High Power and Authority" and provided with Instructions "specially directing him to visit "the factories in Bengal, on the Coast of Coromandel, in Ceylon, Malabar, Surat and the Cape, to discover all frauds, "abuses, malversations, to devise and introduce such remedies as may be necessary, and to dismiss not only guilty but "suspected officers and send them to the Netherlands with the documents" (document quoted in De Jonge). In 1685 Valentijn notes his presence in the performance of these duties of Roving Inspector-General or Commissary-General as the Dutch called the office (and the English also when they made a similar appointment, Sir J. Goldsborough's, 1692, *cf.* Wheeler I, 249-50), at the Cape in 1685, at Negapatam, Bimlipatam and Masulipatam in 1687, at Porto Novo in 1688. In July 1688 he was at Pulicat and the Fort St. George Council hearing that he was invested "with an unlimited power for the settlement of their affairs in these parts and being also in place equal to the General [Governor-General, as commonly] at Batavia" deputed three of their number to wait upon him (Fort St. George Diary). While on the Coromandel Coast he transferred the seat of Government from Pulicat to Negapatam, and, again indulging his taste for fortifications, had a "Castle" built there which cost according to Valentijn's informants either 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 guilders or 1,500,000 to 1,600,000. Van Rheede discovered many abuses and sent several officers home to the Netherlands, but no sooner had he turned his back than "everything, particularly the private trade, went back to the old footing." He died on a voyage from Ceylon to Surat in 1691 (De Jonge VIII. XIV Havart III, 88).—A lengthy extract from a Report on Ceylon attacking van Goens' administration of the island, which he wrote at Batavia in 1677 is printed in Valentijn. The original exists at Colombo—Mr. Anthonisz, Archivist to the Ceylon Government, observes: "His considerations on Ceylon is an elaborate document full of valuable information". Mr Anthonisz also notes that an inscription on a stone pillar standing on a rocky promontory at Trincomalee bears the name of van Rheede's adopted daughter, Francina van Rheede of Mydrecht, and the date 1687, but shows that the romantic legend about it told by Sirr and Forbes is false. Further information will be found in van Rheede's contemporary Havart, who disliked, but respected him, in the lengthy prefaces to various volumes of the *Hortus* and in a study by F. J. Veth (1887).

of Cherum Perumal [1]. Things have however greatly changed since and much has been discovered in course of time that was then unknown; and so I think it will not be out of place to offer your Worship at the same time some notes in the form of a dictionary [missing] of the chief kingdoms, lands, towns, bazaars, pagodas, rivers, festivals and names in Malabar arranged in alphabetical order, which cannot fail to be of some little use to a new Chief of the Settlements, who will by simply turning it up find all he wants; or at least he will not have to trouble himself, when he comes across a word unknown to him in letters and ōlas [palm-leaf letters], with asking the meaning from people, who might sometimes inform him wrong.

Although I have spared no pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of everything, I will not go warrant that in course of time a few errors will not be discovered in the work. I humbly beg your Worship to correct such errors. The little intercourse which one actually has with the natives of Malabar makes such investigations very difficult, but this work may be perfected by such corrections in the course of time and may be of great use in the Company's service.

So far as concerns the Religion and the History of Malabar, if I were to put any account of them on paper, my work would become too diffuse. The Rev. Philip Baldaeus [2] has given an accurate description of the first; and the second, so far as it is necessary to know anything of it in view of the Company's interests, may be studied in the old papers here in the Secretariat.

In the course of this memorandum I shall notice briefly what has occurred in my time; but I shall make no mention of what happened before except so far as may be necessary for a correct understanding of affairs by connecting them with what has gone before. Proceeding on these lines the work will be quite long enough and a second bundle will be added in which the papers referred to may be found [missing].

After referring to country affairs, I shall add a few words regarding the domestic economy of the Company. I need not enter into details; because the administration is based on the commendable "Memorandum of Instructions," dated 9th October 1697 and 31st May 1698, composed by the Right Worshipful the late Governor-General, Hendric Zwaardecroon [3], of happy memory, at that time Commissary of Malabar, and left for the guidance of the Commandeurs. As long as your Worship is careful to have the orders laid down there strictly observed, everything will be carried out well and to the satisfaction of our Worshipful Masters [the Directors in Holland] except in regard to a few points in which Their Right Worshipfuls [the Council at Batavia] have been pleased to make alterations by despatch, dated 7th November 1702.

Furthermore your Worship will find the necessary instructions in the collection of orders from Home and from Batavia in 8 folios. These orders may be found under their respective headings, which is not a little convenient for an administrator, and your Worship would do well to keep the system up. It were to be wished that the headings were not so general, as it would then be much easier to find what one looks for. For instance under the heading "servants" is so much matter that it would be easier to find instructions concerning them in the original letters; all this could have been a great deal simplified by appropriate classification. I have had no time to rectify these defects as my administration has been full of troubles, difficulties

[1] Much has been written to little purpose about Cherumān Perumāl, the legendary ancestor of many of the chief families of Malabar. The word may perhaps mean the "Big man of the Chera people," but neither this derivation nor any of the various theories which have been based on the myth is convincing. Van Rheede's list of Nairs is reproduced with curious misspellings and misunderstandings in A. Hamilton's New Account of the East-Indies, edition of 1739, pp. 284-8. The total number of Nair warriors in the original list is 1,514,000, or more than the whole Nair population of British Malabar (391,000), Travancore (536,000) and Cochin (112,000; according to the last census. The statement of Hamilton that the Kingdoms of Cannanore, Tannore, Cochin, Porcat, Paru and the Zamorin are not in the list is incorrect. They are entered under the dynastic name of the sovereign.

[2] The book referred to is P. Baldaeus, Naauwkeurige beschryvinge Van Malabar en Coromandel en het eiland Ceylon, nevens een . . . . . ontdecking . . . van de afgoderye der Oost—Indische Heydenen, en een Malabaarsche spraakkunst. Folio, Amsterdam 1672. There is a translation in Churchill's Voyages (London 1750) which preserves the valuable prints. Those who wish to see what Cochin, Masulipatam, etc., looked like about 1660 A.D. may turn to it.

[3] Henricus Zwaardecroon was born at Rotterdam on the 26th of January 1667 A.D. and came out to the East in 1684 with van Rheede as van Rheede's secretary. He was appointed Book-keeper in 1686, Under Merchant 1686, Merchant 1689, Upper Merchant 1694. From 1694–7, he was Commandeur of Jaffna, in 1697 Commissary for Malabar (that is, Inspector-General with authority superior to the local Commandeur) and then Officiating Governor of Ceylon. In 1699, he was appointed Director at Surat, in 1703 Secretary to the Council at Batavia, in 1704 Extraordinary Member of Council, in 1715, Ordinary Member. He was Governor-General from 1720 to 1724. Such were the steps in the career of an officer of the Political service of the Dutch Company. In 1716, he was offered the command of the expedition against the Zamorin of Calicut, but refused it. He was a successful administrator and the Company never paid such high dividends as during his Governor-Generalship. He was much interested, like many of the old Dutchmen, in planting, and on retiring from the Governor-Generalship elected not to return to Holland, but to spend his last days on his estate in Java. He died in 1728. The volumes of instructions referred to exist still, one of them (52) much damaged (MS. Nos. 50 and 52).

and extraordinary events. The arrangement of all the orders and instructions under their proper headings should be carried out by men who understand the work, since the contrary causes much trouble and vain searching.

This memorandum will thus accordingly be divided into three parts: Part I the persons with whom the Hon[ble] Company comes in contact on this coast; Part II: articles in which the Hon[ble] Company trades, which it sells and buys; and Part III: the Company's domestic affairs. With regard to the first Part, I must make a few preliminary remarks concerning the people of Malabar, which are generally applicable.

They are not bloodthirsty like other eastern nations, but they are particularly covetous, faithless and insincere; for money you can get anything out of them and the greatest crimes may be atoned for by a small sum of money. Honour and good faith, promises and oaths are with them very frail ties easily broken if their interests require it and so you cannot look too much about and before you with them and not the slightest trust can be put in their promises. Their many and binding contracts made with the Company, but never kept by them, are indisputable proofs of my statement [1]. What can you do with men who, when they are embarrassed or beaten, willingly submit to the terms and conditions of the conqueror, but who have no intention of observing them except as long as they feel the force to which they must bow, and whose good faith and obedience vanish as soon as it is withdrawn from this coast? Their hypocrisy is profound. They are in no way excitable, but very composed; outwardly polite but their heart full of bitterness, they are masters of the art of sounding a person without his noticing. I have often found that when the Signatty [2] wished to obtain something from the Company, he proposed the very opposite, solely with the intention of discovering my sentiments. If I rejected his proposal, he had gained his point; if I granted his request, he would produce so many engines directed to the gaining of his object, that I often found myself in a real quandary scarcely knowing how to repulse the attack.

They are particularly phlegmatic and ridicule the hasty temper of Europeans, and if you have dealings with them you should treat them according to their own ways; this need not prevent you occasionally using, if necessary, strong language and earnest admonitions, but that again will accomplish little unless a good number of soldiers impart weight to your words.

All transactions with them are very much delayed by their numerous festival days and ceremonies; one must put up with this and there is no remedy; but their lucky and unlucky days, which always occur according as their interest demands and just as is convenient to them, are intolerable.

One point I must notice here which is of great importance in the Company's service, viz., although the kings and princes exercise great authority over their subjects, affairs are so regulated by the laws of Cherumān Perumāl that their rule can in no way be called despotic; subjects obey their king ungrudgingly as long as he remains within the limits of the law; even if a chief were to wrong a few individuals, the whole community would not take up the quarrel; but if he were to issue orders calculated to injure the interests of the whole community, they would not be obeyed. I draw attention to this in special connection with pepper, and I confess to have made a mistake more than once in stating in the Company's papers that kings and chiefs alone can and should stop the export of pepper, and having examined the subject more carefully, I have come to the conclusion that their power in this matter is small if they do not wish to bring the hatred of the whole nation upon their head; since the kings have indeed with the knowledge of their subjects promised to supply the Company with pepper but not at any particular price; and in the contracts made with the king of Tekkenkur, dated 16th June 1664, it is distinctly laid down that the pepper must be paid for at such prices and with such commodities and specie, silver or gold, as the bazaar from time to time demands and as can be agreed upon with the traders or ordinary merchants.

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[1] This should not be taken too seriously. In a frank passage in his Memoir of 1761 Commandeur Caspar de Jong observes that much rubbish was talked about the non-observance of contracts and treaties by native princes. These treaties were sometimes obsolete, sometimes curiously interpreted by the Dutch. Similar charges of not observing treaties could just as easily be brought against the Dutch themselves.

[2] The "Signatty" is the Prince of Quilon; from Desinganād, properly the name of the country. He was an ally of the Dutch in the Travancore War of 1739–42 A.D.

In paragraph 11 of his Memorandum referred to above, Commandeur Hendrik Van Rheede, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Malabar, testifies to the same thing in the following words: "subjects are not bound to observe any orders, commands or whims and council decisions of the king which are not in conformity with their laws, welfare or privileges and have not been approved in their own district and ratified at the meeting of their district assemblies[1]". And further paragraph 35 "No king of Malabar has the power to make contracts which are prejudicial to the interests of landlords, noblemen or Nairs; such a king would run the danger of being expelled and rejected by his subjects, etc."

If any one were to object that the contracts made between the Honble Company and the respective kings and landowners seem to prove that my view is wrong, I can only answer that no such conclusion can be drawn and that such contracts rather go to prove the truth of my statements; because it cannot be shown that such contracts were ever observed by any one except so far as the people of Malabar found their interest in the observance or so far as their fear of the power of the Company compelled them for a short time, and so I think it is abundantly clear that all measures both political and commercial to induce the natives to trade with the Company with loss to themselves are entirely useless if they have other ways of disposing of their merchandise, because it would never enter the mind of the chiefs seriously to oppose their subjects in this matter.

Commissary Marten Huisman and Council commenting in the margin on paragraph 35 of the said Memorandum, say that kings have indeed the power to make certain treaties, which may in some measure extend to restriction of trade by sea, but they cannot do so against private rights. This statement is not inconsistent with what I have said above because the people of Malabar will not make a fuss about trifles; but when vital interests are at stake, such as those bound up with pepper, areca, rice and oil, they will by no means willingly allow their hands to be tied, or must be compelled by force.

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[1] Specimens of Resolutions passed at such meetings will be found in Mr. Nagam Aiyar's Travancore Manual, I, pp 319-322. A resolution passed by the people of the Nanjanad area in solemn meeting held at Asraman under date the 14th Margaly, 889 M.E. (December 1713 A.D.) runs: "As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers caused great damage to us, and as while from the time this land came into existence we continued to pay *ungali melvaram* for lands we possess by purchase, we have been obliged to pay *kottappanam* and unprecedented taxes, the land has suffered very grievously. Hereafter therefore we should, in accordance with the royal commands of our sovereign Kulasekhara Perumal Tampuran, continue to pay *angali* and *melvaram* alone, but not any *kottappanam* and unusual taxes, and should protest against such attempts by unitedly making a bold stand and if necessary by emigrating. We should honourably keep up all the privileges or rights which our ancestors enjoyed in olden days. If palace officers should come, we should give them allowances only at 12 measures for each Brahmin and 9 measures for each Nayar among them"; and so on.

CHAPTER I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGS OF MALABAR, BEGINNING IN THE SOUTH WITH THE STATE OF TRAVANCORE OR TRIPAPU SURAVAM, [SVARUPAM = RULING FAMILY] ONE OF THE FOUR CHIEF KINGDOMS.

The king of Travancore is of the Chodilecur Faction[1], a Nair by caste[2], adopted from the house of Colastry, [Kólattiri of Cannanore] and styles himself Cuchi Tambaran or the little king. This state was formerly divided among five houses. Travancore, Attinga, Elleda Surovan, Peritally and Signatty; and since the four first states have been united, they form the most powerful state in Malabar[3]. The other states have, without harmony (which is seldom found in the ruling families), little power; but this chief on the contrary has with the help of the English[4], had all the noblemen of the state, both Pulas and Gurips[5], put to death or banished the country except the Pula of Bariatto. Since that time he not only rules supreme but by confiscating their goods and lands he has so increased his treasures and revenues that he excels the other rulers in the greatness of his expenditure and was able to keep up the war against the Honble Company and the Signatty for four years, although in the meantime he had to pay considerable tributes at first to the Moguls and later on to the Mahrattas from the time the latter had taken possession of the Madura Coast.

The present king [Martanda Varma] is 37 years old, an able and untiring prince, but very cruel and so conceited and arrogant that he aims at nothing less than the supremacy over the whole of Malabar; and no doubt he would have gained his object had not the Honble Company been in his way.

From the letters dispatched from here, the Campaign Journal[6] and other papers kept here at the Secretariat your Worship may learn the origin of the late war with that king and how at first the Honble Company was pretty successful against him, but later on for want of men and other necessaries had to leave him master of the field; until finally on knocking his head against the Coilan [Quilon] lines and losing more than 6,000 men and on hearing of the return to India of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff[7] as Governor-General he hurriedly returned with his army to his own country. He has been suing for peace in very polite terms, and has already made

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[1] *Chodilecur faction.*—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The Namburi Brahmins and Nayar chieftains with their followers belonged formerly to one of two factions Chovaracur and Panniyorcur. The Raja of Cochin is said to have been the head of the former and the Zamorin of the latter."

[2] *Nair by caste.*—the Tampis or descendants of the Maharajas will not now eat with, though they will eat in the houses of, ordinary Nairs; whose indignation has been expressed in the newspapers. Whether or not the Maharaja himself is to be considered a Nair is quite a different question. See p. 110 below.

[3] In 1675 according to a Report of Van Goens printed in Valentijn, Travancore ended two hours march north of Tengapatnam and embraced only the southern extremity of the present state, a strip of land of about 700 square miles (35 × 20) or one-tenth part of modern Travancore. This is also the extent of Travancore as shown in Valentijn's map (1726). The ruling family of Attinga (Attungal), another narrow strip of about 30 miles of coast bounding it on the north, seems to have been closely connected with that of Travancore, and sometimes reckoned as part of it; so apparently in Jan Nieuhoff's book (1693, II. p. 135); and in a report abstracted in the Batavia Diary under date 27th Nov. 1663 it is stated: "The principal trade places from Quilon to the Cape *in the Travancore king's lands* are the villages of "Mapely, Aretura (Valiatora), Tengapatnam and Cariapatnam (Kadiapatnam). The village of Mapely lies about "5 miles (= about 20 English miles from Quilon and is one of the principal ports, being well situated for the trade in "pepper and wild cinnamon In the village Aretura, about 5 miles (20 miles) further south, much pepper could be "purchased". Towards the end of the 17th century Kelorma (Kerala Varma), Raja of Travancore, is described in Dutch records as the Queen of Attungal's vassal (V. Macleod). About the same time the English settled at Anjengo, and they obtained their grants from the Queen; while in 1757 the Chief of Anjengo wrote: "Her (the Queen of Attinga's) country is now in the absolute power of the king of Travancore, and he holds the Heiress of the family under restraint in the palace of Attinga but, being of the same family himself, does not otherwise treat her ill; yet she has not the least shadow of authority left etc." (Mil. Cons. No. 8, p 898). Ellida Surovan (Elavadat Svarupam, Elava = young, Svarupam = ruling family), Peritalli and Signatty (Desinganad) or Quilon were when the Dutch first appeared on the Coast practically independent principalities bordering on and intermixed with Travancore and Attungal on the north-east and north. These and other states were, however, sometimes reckoned as really part of Travancore (*e.g.*, in Van Rheede's Memoir).

[4] "*With the help of the English*".—The contemporary records of Anjengo are missing, but I find the following remark in a letter from Anjengo to the Select Committee at Madras, dated 8th September 1757 on page 899 of Military Consultations, General No. 8, Fort St. George records. "It's to be remarked that by the help of the Hon'ble Company he was first enabled to acquire an Influence in the country, and which he is continually acknowledging tho' he makes them such indifferent Returns for it". The king of Travancore referred to is Martanda Varma "the Great", the founder of modern Travancore.

[5] *Pulas and Gurips*: *i.e.*—pillais and kurups. These are Nair caste-affixes, originally, probably denoting offices or titles—*cf.* Canter Visscher (1723): 'The Gurips, who are fencing masters, are also held in great esteem". The "eight families of Pillais" or 8 baronial houses of Travancore are often mentioned in these records and elsewhere.

[6] This Journal or a part of it exists (MS. No. 287).

[7] Gustaaf Willem, Baron Van Imhoff, was born in 1705 A.D. He came out to the East in the grade of Under-Merchant in 1725, in 1726 he was promoted Merchant, in 1729 Upper Merchant, in 1730 Second Secretary to the Supreme Council at Batavia, in 1732 Extraordinary Member of Council, in 1736 ordinary Member of Council and Governor of Ceylon. In 1738 he was at home on leave; in 1739 he paid a brief visit to Malabar; in 1740 he took his seat in the Council at Batavia, quarrelled with the Governor-General concerned in the famous massacre of the Chinese, was sent home in arrest, came out as Governor-General in 1743, and died in harness in 1750.

peace with the Signatty; but since he understood that the departure of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff from Europe had been postponed, the peace negotiations with the Honble Company have advanced very little. Of these negotiations and the final result your Worship will be informed further on.

And although a peace should be concluded, one may very reasonably doubt whether it will be lasting; since he strongly insists upon a promise from the Honble Company to remain neutral in case he goes to war with the Malabar chiefs, which sufficiently shows his ambitious intentions, and though it will be some time before his finances are re-established and besides most of his Cunjecutas [Kunjukuttakars] or picked Nairs have fallen, still I do not believe that he has altogether abandoned his high-flying design to make himself master of the whole of Malabar, and even if peace should be made, your Worship will have to watch his conduct carefully, and avoid cautiously whatever may give rise to fresh troubles. It will be sufficient for your Worship to keep Their Right Worshipfuls properly informed and to wait for their orders with regard to him.

The chief products of his territories are pepper and piece-goods. The former is found on this side of Brinsjan [Vizhinjam] and the latter is manufactured on the other side between Brinsjan and the cape at Cottatte,[1] Colletye [Collachel] and Tengapatnam; the English have a large share in the trade of both products; however most of the pepper is brought across the hills to the Pandy country and to the coast and the piece-goods also are carried over the whole of Malabar. Moreover the country produces as much rice as is required to feed its inhabitants.

Nanjinadu, a small principality beyond Cacollam, bordering on the Pandy country[2] which escheated to Travancore about 200 years ago, produces so much of this grain that the king levies tolls every year amounting to 300,000 gallioons[3] on the rice in the husk exported to the Pandy country. The monopoly contracts made between the Honble Company and the king's forefathers are to be found in the book of contracts [M.S. No. 48]. But these contracts were never heeded; in 1695 the king did not even scruple to allow the English to build a fort at Ansjenga [Anjengo] in Attinga; the Honble Company's "lodges" at Tengapatnam and Ansjenga have several times been plundered; the resident at Tengapatnam, Johannes Heidenberg, was murdered; the vessels and the property of the Company were seized.[4] This is the origin of the well-known debt or claim of Attinga amounting to 52,742–9–6 guilders [about Rs. 30,000], of which a full account may be found in the second bundle of the annexures under No. 1 [missing]. All this occurred in the time of the great power of the Pulas when the state was badly governed owing to domestic disputes and complications; at present however matters are so well regulated and carried out with such regularity and fitness that the like is not seen with any chief in Malabar. All the

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[1] *Cottatte* is Kottar, the capital of old Travancore, now a part of the large town of Nagercoil (26,000 inhabitants); lat. 8° 10′, long. 77° 29″; 5½ miles from the sea. In 1739 Van Imhoff (Journal in MS. No. 281) proceeding by land from Tengapatnam to Tuticorin halted at Colletje (12 English miles) and Puletope (12 more) and was then 12 miles from Cottatte. He marched along the sea to Rajakamangalam, the half-way place, and then turned inland to Cottatte. From Cottatte to Capo Comorin was 16 miles. The itinerary leaves no doubt as to the identity of Cottatte with Kottar. All those places contained (and contain) Portuguese churches. Kottar has also an ancient pagoda and has perhaps been an important commercial town for more than two thousand years. It has been identified with the Cottiara Metropolis of the ancient Greeks and the Cottara of the Peutingerian tables. The staple in 1739 was cotton cloth.

[2] *Nanjinad* comprises the two south-westernmost taluks of modern Travancore, Tovala and Agastisvaram. *Cacollam* is Kalkulam taluk and the *Pandy country* is the mountainous area on the east of old Travancore, the name probably referring to the famous old dynasty of the Pandyas.

[3] *Gallioon*: A Travancore chukram as shown by an entry on p. 165 of MS. No. 281 (Diary of Van Imhoff, 1739), where in an interview with Travancore's ministers "chuckram fanams or gallioons" are referred to and it is explained that 480 Dutch doits = 1 pagoda = 20 gallioons; 1 gallioon = 24 doits. The Company's doit was under Batavia Plakaat of the 18th Oct. 1725 worth one quarter of a stiver and the common bazaar rupee under Plakaat of the 23rd May 1735 was to be accepted at 27 heavy stivers. The doit meant in the passage cited is apparently a doit light money, of which 240 = 1 rix-dollar. The calculation accordingly is, 2 rix-dollars = 1 Travancore pagoda = 20 gallioons; 1 gallioon = $\frac{1}{10}$th rix-dollar = $\frac{48}{27} \times \frac{1}{10}$ rupees = $\frac{8}{45}$ths of a rupee; 1 rupee = $5\frac{5}{8}$th gallioons. In 1727 (MS. No 148) $222\frac{2}{9}$ rix-dollars is given as the equivalent of 2,000 gallioons, which makes the gallioon 9 instead of 10 to the dollar. Elsewhere I find 27 gallioons = 1 ducat (p. 176 of MS. No. 281) and it is also stated that at their intrinsic value gallioons were 24, not 20 to the pagoda. Five years later the Anjengo factors exchanged their ducats at from $27\frac{1}{3}$ to $28\frac{1}{3}$ fanams, and their rupees at from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ fanams. "Gallioon" is the Malayalam Kaliyan. The kaliyuga coinage is a well-known old coinage of Travancore, and though kaliyans are not now current coin in Travancore, prices, rents, etc., are still often referred to in terms of kaliyans, seven kaliyans being reckoned to a rupee. A rupee was in 1743 about twice its present value in English currency. Eight rupees were then reckoned to the sovereign at Tellicherry (Diary 1743, p. 84). So a gallioon at 6 to the rupee was worth about 5*d* English.

[4] This occurred on the 28th August 1694. The Queen agreed in 1695 to rebuild the factory and to pay 80,000 kalyan fanams, reckoned at 9,411 rix-dollars, besides presenting an elephant (see N. Macleod "De machtsuitbreiding der Oost Indische Compagnie of het vasteland van Azie van 1683—1697") The English factors of Anjengo with 120 men were also murdered on the night of the 11th to 12th April 1721 at Attungal and the factory was then besieged for 6 months, the Rani of Attungal being unable to keep order among her own people.

great men of his kingdom called "Anavies"[1] are men of common Nair origin and their rank is not inherited by their descendants; accordingly they depend entirely upon the ruler, they owe everything to him and they obey him with a slavish submission; and as their welfare depends entirely on the favour of their master, the king is served with great promptitude and from them he never need fear conspiracies against his person or possessions.

(2) The States of Peritally and Elleda Surovan[2].

Peritally and Elleda Surovan bound on Travancore in the north-east; by the extinction of the families of former rulers they have come under one ruler who is called the king of Peritally, Nair by caste and adopted from the princes of Ellerta Surovan or Corporam,[3] being of the Chodircur faction. The king of Travancore took possession of this state in the year 1734, led away the royal family into captivity and had them imprisoned in a Pagger,[4] where the king died two years ago. The other princess and princesses are still there with the exception of one princess, who was fortunate enough to escape from the hands of this usurper and to get safely to Tekkencur; in the year 1740 she was brought back from there by the Hon'ble Company to her state and reinstated as ruler; but in the year 1742 she again had to leave it and withdrew into the state of Cochin where she resides with her relations at Corporam, and still receives 45 fanams [Rs. 2½, 18 Cochin fans. = 1 rupee] daily from the Honble Company towards her own support and that of her suite.

Rice and pepper are particularly plentiful in these two states and they are called the Malabar pepper garden par excellence. Marambins[5] and Nairs are numerous, but just as pusillanimous as those of Calicoilan [Cayanculam]; for if this little nation had only offered the slightest resistance, the Raja of Travancore would never have advanced so far. But their maxim is "dead men never come to life again", and so you must avoid as far as possible the danger of losing your life. For this reason they always choose the side of the strongest and make no secret of this shameful principle. The residential town is Cottaracarre,[6] situated in Elleda Surovan; the Hon[ble] Company has made monopoly contracts with the kings of this country. There are many weavers at Cligoly, a mile [1 Dutch mile = 4 English miles] from Coilan [Quilon]; in time they will supply good piece-goods, and although Peritally remains in the power of Travancore, we shall always be able to compel them to sell their woven fabrics to the Hon[ble] Company, because most of the cotton which they use is brought to and unloaded in the Bay of Coilan which belongs to the Company.

(3) Coilan (Quilon).

Next we come to the little kingdom of Coilan. After the Raja of Calicoilan was slain in 1734 it was annexed to the latter. This state is small and produces nothing of importance except a little pepper; and although considerable consignments of this grain are sometimes supplied, most of it is imported from Peritally and other places. The fortress of the Hon[ble] Company, likewise called Coilan, lies within the lines of the Signatty, which were so manfully defended last year by the brave Nairs under the gallant old Rajadore[7] Achuda Barier [Achyuta Wariar] against the entire forces of the Raja of Travancore that the latter had to raise the siege with great loss and shame.

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[1] Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "*Annavy* is a title in Travancore similar to *Achan* in Cochin. The word is probably derived from *Annan*, elder brother, *Achan* meaning father. There are still some men in Travancore holding the title."

[2] *Peritally*: Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "No name resembling Peritally is locally known as the name of a former kingdom". The Travancore Manual identifies Peritally with Nedumangad (I, 310) formerly Elavallur, correctly (*vide* letters in MS. No. 300). Portuguese form was Pevagatalli. In the Tellicherry Diary for 1726 it is recorded: "The kings of Chinganatta [Signatty] and Perital have joined Vanjanatta [a turbulent Nair vassal ofthe Queen of Attinga] and are resolved to crush the king of Travancore". The war of 1734 began with an attack on Cayanculam by the joint forces of Travancore and Peritally (Letter of king of Cayanculam in MS. No. 202).

[3] *Corporam*: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes "Karapuram is the sandy tract lying between the sea and the back-water to the north of Alleppey".

[4] *A pagger*—is a stockade or fort (Malay).

[5] *Marambin*:—Madampinar, old Nair titular affix.

[6] *Kottarakara*—is now a station on the Shencotta-Quilon branch railway.

[7] *Rajadores*—are "lords who have been raised by the Rajas to certain commands over the army or country", (Canter Visscher, 1723). The word is not derived from "Raja", but is the Portuguese Regedor, magistrate, etc. commonly applied to these people in the old Portuguese books, *e.g.*, in Gaspar Correa. This without denying that Rex and Raja may have a common root. The form used in Italian by Sebastiani (1672) is *Regedore*; the form used in Dutch by Nieuhof (1682) is *Residoor*.

The residential town of the king is also within these lines and the Travancore works lie within a stone's throw and could be bombarded from fort Coilan.

(4) Marta.

Marta comprises two little kingdoms, Carnapoly and Carimbalie or Betimene; the former stretches along the sea between Coi—and Calicoilan; the latter lies on the other side of the river between Calicoilan and Porca.[1]

The king of Travancore had caused a princess of his own family to be adopted there against right and reason. She was queen in name, but as a matter of fact the state was ruled by the King's Rajadores. In the year 1740 she was compelled to leave the state and to withdraw into Tekkencur to Nedumporam, a desam [2] or free place. But in 1742 when we had to leave the field owing to want of men the state fell again into the hands of the Raja of Travancore; the latter still holds possession of it on the understanding that his claim on Peritally and Marta will be examined by two impartial kings. These countries produce nothing, except what is required for the people's sustenance. The Company has built a pepper store-house of brick at Peza [3]; but the pepper is mostly brought from Peritally as this country can scarcely furnish 100 candies [1 Candy = 500 Dutch pounds] of its own growing.

(5) Calicoilan (Cayenculam).

Calicoilan is a beautiful little kingdom stretching from the sea far inland; it lies between Pandalam, Tekkencur, Elleda Surovan, Martencur, Porca (Puracad) and Tirkenapaly or Pagodingo. The king of this state possesses also the kingdoms of Coilan and Pannapally. He is a man of understanding and courage but his profligacy and fickleness mar all his other good qualities; he is not exactly avaricious but rather wasteful; but as his own means do not suffice, he gathers and scrapes together all he can and for this reason he may rightly be called grasping. He has 15,000 Nairs who were formerly looked upon as the best in Malabar, but in the late war they behaved with unparalleled cowardice; the strange conduct of the king no doubt contributed greatly to this; his people are far from loving him, and they do not think him worthy that they should risk their lives in his interests. The country produces little pepper but the Hon'ble Company allow His Highness 500 fs. Ragias [4] annually for extirpating wild cinnamon besides the ordinary grants for pepper.

(6) Pannapally.

Pannapally is a little kingdom lying inland beyond Calicoilan, to which it was attached when its ruling family died out. The people of Malabar call the four little kingdoms above mentioned Cherrivay or Unaddu Carre, because formerly they were under one queen who divided them among her four daughters.

(7) Pandalam or Chembalanur.

Pandalam or Chembalanur is a principality situated beyond Calicoilan, bordering on the Pandy Country; it is of little importance. The Raja is a great friend of the Raja of Travancore and a great enemy of the king of Calicoilan; he gave the former free passage through his dominions when he was on his way to attack the latter. Without this permission the invasion would not have been so easy, because good fortifications had been constructed in the direction of Elleda Surovan. The southern beams that are supplied to the Hon'ble Company come from this country. The Raja is a Kshatrya by caste and has 3,000 Nairs.

(8) Tirkenapaly.[5]

Tirkenapaly, which is better known among us by the name of Pagodingo, is a little piece of land lying along the sea; it stretches from the Calicoilan country to Porca and belongs to the king of Repolim, who has it governed by his Rajadores.

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[1] *Marta*—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Of the two small states Karunagapilli (Carnapoly) and Kartikapilli (Carimbaly) which were ruled by two branches of the same family. Martukulangara (Marta) was the capital of the first". This corresponds with position of the principalities as shown in Valentijn's map (1726).

[2] *Nedumpuram*—is near Tiruvalla. *Desam* now simply means a topographical—administrative sub-division.

[3] *Peza*—Nieuhof (II, 131) writes: "To the south (of Marta) by the sea lies a place called *Panderatoutte* by the inhabitants and *Pesse* by the Portuguese.

[4] Fs. *Ragias.*—In use at Quilon and worth a little more than half a rupee (see page 73). For the behaviour of His Highness's Nairs in the war, which nearly drove him to suicide, see note on page 83.

[5] *Tirkenapaly.*—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Trikunnapuzha is a village in the Kartakapilli taluk and still belongs to the Chief of Idapilli (Repolim)." There is a pagoda of some importance in it.

(9) Tekkencur.

Tekkencur is a considerable state; it lies between Calicoilan, Berkencur [Vadakkancur = northern principality, as Tekkencur = southern principality] the broad river of Carraporam [Vembanad Lake] and the hills; it supplies much pepper and areca. The state has 18 marambins [madampinars] and two powerful caimals [1] in the east, next to the hills, called the Navacadda and Nanojattu Caimals, who make little of His Highness's authority. Most of the pepper is brought up-country to the bazaars of Kun, Serepilly, Irataperha, Erunalur and Irruny, and from there it is fetched by the Pandy merchants with pack-oxen notwithstanding that in the contract of the 16th July 1664 it is specially promised that of this grain no more will be carried up-country than just so much and so little as is bartered for foreign necessaries of life required by His Highness's subjects. The king resides at Cottatte.[2] He is a man of between 50 and 60 years old, gentle by nature, and his only aim is to keep his state in peace and prosperity. His Highness has always shown good will towards the Company, but although he even now gives earnest indications of his sincere affection for the Company, yet it is certain since he has noticed that the Company is determined to take serious steps to make itself master of the pepper trade, that he is of one accord with the other chiefs of Malabar to undermine and reduce the Company's power underhand.

In the east of this state, next to the hills, lies the principality of Punjatty Perumal; its ruler was adopted from the house of the princes of Charkara; much cardamom is found here.[3]

(10) Repolim[4] or Ellengalur.

Repolim or Ellengalur is a small state next to the Anjicaimals; its lands are spread all over Malabar. The king is a little prince eight or ten years old under the guardianship of his mother and some nobles who are very much at loggerheads with one another. In the year 1740 the Company made a contract with this ruler, whose power and influence might be of considerable importance if his lands were closer together.

The King of Cochin and his four states, Porca (Puracad), Berkencur (Vadakkenkur), Mangatty (Mangad) and Paru (Parur).

(11) Porca.

The king of Porca, a Brahmin by caste, is a prince of about 32 years of age. He is not very intelligent but his little kingdom is none the less very wisely governed according to the wholesome laws made by his grandfather. The state lies on the sea to the north of Pagodingo and to the south of the province of Muton; towards the interior it borders on Tekkencur and Calicoilan; and relatively to Coddemalur, a piece of land with a walled-in court and situated in Tekkencur, where the queen resides, it borders on Berkencur territory.

The Honble Company has a beautiful brick lodge in the bazaar at Porca and a storehouse for pepper on the beach. Although the state itself does not produce 50 candies of pepper still a contract is made every year for 400 candies, which are brought from Tekkencur, Berkencur and from the land Culupara which belongs to Repolim. In the year 1721–22 the Company secured here 884,300 pounds of pepper.

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[1] *Caimal.*—Chief. Canter Visscher (1723) writes: "The Caimals are temporal potentates possessing the right of making war. Some are subject to the prince in whose territory they are situated; others are independent." The word has now become a mere Nair name-affix.

[2] *Cottatte.*—This Cottatte is Kottayam, the seat of the Syrian Metropolitan and of the Protestant Bishop in Travancore and Cochin. Mr. Achyuta Menon notes that the family is still in existence, resides at Vaikam and is supported by a Travancore pension.

[3] *Punjatty Perumal*: Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "The chief of Punjar still owns extensive lands and forests in Minadul taluk. The family of Sarkara was a branch of the Cranganore family, but is now extinct. They once ruled over Chetway and its neighbourhood."

[4] *Repolim*, like most of these names, was taken over from the Portuguese (*cf.* Repolina vada in Maffei *Historiarun Indicarun*, 1603 A.D., page 41-A). The place meant is Edapilli, now a station on the Shoranur Cochin railway. The form Erpolim, which I have come across in the Batavia Diary, is perhaps the connecting link between Edapilli and Repolim. The Edapilli family is still called also Ellangalur Svarupam or Ellangalur ruling family. The chief, a Nambudri Brahmin of high rank, is now a subject of the Maharaja of Travancore, but has not been completely despoiled of his temporal power. He has now a wide spiritual but limited temporal authority (Travancore Manual, III, 583). He lives in a palace built in the old style.

This Rajah has for some time shown a strong leaning towards the king of Travancore, and to please him he has offered insults and affronts to the Hon[ble] Company, for which however he may have to pay dearly one day. To excuse himself he in his turn complains of the proceedings of the Hon[ble] Company, but these complaints are altogether unreasonable and unfounded.

As regards pepper, in the year 1741 a contract for pepper was made with his merchants and a promise was made to pay $12\frac{3}{4}$ ducats[1] per candy of 500 lbs. on condition however that if the stipulated quantity had not been delivered in full before February, they would not receive more than the price of the previous year, which was $11\frac{1}{2}$ ducats. Now as they did not take the slightest trouble to comply with these contracts in spite of our frequent admonitions and as they had not been complied with even in the month of May, we did not pay more than had been promised. The king resented this and we took great pains to explain the whole matter fully to His Highness and eventually in an ōla received on the 17th August 1741 he himself acknowledged that the claims of the merchants were unfounded, but nevertheless requested the Hon[ble] Company to pay the new price, which the Company however could not agree to.

The second point of discontent is the seizure of his vessels at Coilan by the Signatty, which may be admitted for what it is; a detailed account of it is given in our respectful letter to Batavia, dated 14th May 1742. But no blame attaches to the Company, because as soon as I was informed of the incident at Climanur I requested the Signatty to let the vessels go, not because I judged the claim illegal but because the bahia[2] (bay) where the vessels had been seized belongs to the Hon[ble] Company; and seeing that His Highness was spinning the affair out, I released the vessels myself almost forcibly to the great chagrin of a ruler with whom the Company was on the best of terms.

The third cause of complaint is the firing of our people at the king's vessels on the broad river (Vembanād Lake). Now this has been expressly forbidden, and although His Highness at the time had sufficiently declared himself against the Hon[ble] Company, still those who were found guilty were punished; and more His Highness cannot expect.

Meanwhile as this little potentate insists upon sulking, it will be best to leave the whole thing alone and refuse the Company's passes to his subjects until he has come to his senses and until he has given satisfaction to the Hon[ble] Company.

(12) Berkencur or Bembellanaddu[3].

Berkencur or Bembellanaddu, under which name Tekkencur is understood with it, is bounded on the west by the broad river, on the east by the country of Pandy, on the south by Tekkencur and on the north by Cottamangalam.

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[1] *Ducat*:—Probably the Venetian gold ducat (weight $53\frac{1}{2}$ grains, modern English sovereign 123 grains), very commonly mentioned in the west coast records of this time. Other European gold ducats (Dutch, Hungarian, etc.) of very similar weight and value were also current on the Coast, as also "Moorish" ducats worth slightly less. Canter Visscher (1723) gives the value of the Venetian ducat as 18 to $18\frac{1}{2}$ schellings and says it sometimes rose to 19. A rupee was calculated at Cochin in the first half of the 18th century at 27 heavy stivers [authorities (*a*) Strutt's Diary, M.S. 1714 A.D. (*b*) Batavia Plakaat of 1735] and a schelling was 6 stivers. This makes the ducat 4 rupees or a little over. In Madras MS. No. 322 a list of coins with their values in rix-dollars in 1741 A.D. is given. The value of the "European gold ducat" is there given as $2\frac{1}{32}$ rix-dollars, that of the "Moorish" ducat as $2\frac{8}{32}$ rix-dollars. A rix-dollar being worth 48 heavy stivers in the East (50 in Europe), this makes the Venetian ducat $4\frac{1}{6}$ rupees. The value of the "Venetian" may also be arrived at from the Anjengo treasury accounts in the Diary for 1744/5 (the earliest preserved), which show that it exchanged at from $27\frac{1}{3}$ to $28\frac{1}{3}$ fanams and a rupee at $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ fanams. The exchange of gold and silver, and of one coin with another fluctuated greatly at this time, but from the various indications above it may be assumed that the ducat was pretty constantly a little more than 4 rupees. $11\frac{1}{2}$ and $12\frac{3}{4}$ ducats were accordingly somewhere near Rs. 50. Now if the Dutch expected the Puracad merchants to supply them with pepper at Rs. 50 a candy of 500 Dutch pounds, they expected to be supplied at considerably less than what appears to have been the market price. The Tellicherry candy was a little lighter than the Cochin candy (520 English pounds, Tellicherry Diary for 1740–1, p. 69), but in February 1742 the Tellicherry factors note the price of a candy of pepper as Rs. 100, in February 1743 Rs. 115, in March 1743 Rs. 116. The Dutch in fact, as has been noted in the Introduction, exacted a disguised tribute from the petty princes of Malabar in the form of pepper at very much reduced prices. The complaint of the Kodasseri Caimal referred to on p. 61 below that it was making a fool of him to take his pepper for 14 ducats (say Rs. 58) instead of 24 (Rs. 100) may be compared. It may be observed that though pepper was over Rs. 100 a candy at Tellicherry and Calicut during the Dutch wars with Travancore, the Anjengo factory was getting pepper from Travancore at lower prices—in return for keeping him supplied with arms.

[2] *Bahia*:—The Portuguese word is used, perhaps with reference to the terms of some old Portuguese treaty or merely because its use had survived.

[3] Mr. Achyutta Menon writes: "Vadakunkur means the northern dynasty and Tekunkur the southern dynasty. These two originally formed one State known as Velmalanad. Of the eight provinces referred to Caradurti is Kadaturuti in the Ettamanur taluk. Manjur is in the same taluk. The rest cannot be identified. Kismalanaddu (Kihhmalanad) means Eastern Hill Tract. Toddopalo (Todupuzha) and (not 'or') Caricotty (Karikod) are well-known villages. The family now lives in Kaipizha, Ettemanor Taluk, on a pension granted by Travancore". Todupuzha and Karikod are not far apart.

This state comprises eight provinces called Badeatty, to which belongs Talleaparambu, Caradurty, Manatta, Mansur, Ballacherry, Pudicalu, Manatty, Kilnur, besides the great territory of Kismalanaddu, in which lies the well-known bazaar Toddopale or Caricotty. These provinces supply a considerable quantity of pepper and of this the Honble Company must annually have 1,000,000 lbs. under a contract made in 1740; but what we said before in our general remarks regarding the limited power of the rulers in Malabar is particularly to be noted here, since the third ruling prince, who owes all to be Honble Company and could not possibly maintain himself without the Company's protection, would if he had the power, certainly in his own interests take care that the contract was complied with, the rather that His Highness has been given to understand in very significant terms that if he fails to fulfil his promises the expelled prince will again be made the ruler. He has done whatever was in his power but without success. For this reason it has been necessary to raise the price of this grain in order not to lose it altogether, and it seems that this expedient also will prove unsuccessful, because the natives secure still higher prices by smuggling the pepper.

(13) Mangatty or Paddinjattu Eddettu.

Mangatty or Paddinjattu Eddettu is situated between Cranganore, Chenotty and Paru and stretches as far as the hills.

It consists of three small states, Mangatty, Carta—and Beltadavil[1] which formerly had their separate kings, but since the death of the lame Cartadavil in 1735, they have been governed by a prince who was adopted by the Honble Company from the house of Valluanatty and who owes everything to the Honble Company. The preceding king was of the house of Murianatty Nambiar and died in the year 1741 after having fairly plundered the state. The country exports about 150 candies of pepper and is for the rest of little importance. Among the nobility the family of the Curilunies excel in power but still more in mischievousness and when an opportunity offers ought to receive some chastisement. The royal family have pressed strongly for a contract with the Honble Company, and although there is no necessity for this because the little kingdom is under Cochin, still as contracts have been made with the other three subordinate states and as it might some time or other be of some use, we have granted the same in Council, the 15th December last. The draft of the contract will be found under No. 2 in the Appendix [missing]. If the contract cannot be completed before my departure, your Worship may have it executed.

(14) Paro or Pinddnivattatta.[2]

The fourth and last division of the Cochin state is situated between Bardella, Cherally, Mangatty, Chenotty and Baypin. It is a beautiful little piece of land and contains warlike Nairs. It produces annually 150 candies of pepper which falls under contracts to the Honble Company, but is all conveyed elsewhere. The king is a Brahmin of high caste, about 30 years old, handsome in appearance but strange and desperate in conduct, having fairly ruined this rich country. The second prince, his brother, instigated by their mother, stood up against this and indeed made himself master of the state, when the king murdered with his own hand his prime minister, the shrewd Rajadore Tekkanetta Menon, and so everything fell again into the hands of the king. The royal family is half Chodircur, half Pandircur[3] and is divided into two branches.

(15) Cochin.

The king of Cochin or Perumbadapu, one of the four chief states, lying along the sea between Porca, Tek-and Berkenur, Anjacaimal and the territories of the Zamorin is very powerful by himself besides that, as the result of adoption and decease, his power has been further increased by addition of the territories of Muton or Ellerta Surovan stretching in the south from Porca and ending in the north near the estate

[1] Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Karuta Tavazhi and Veluta Tavazhi (Cartadavil and Beltadavil) mean the black and the white branch. The family now lives near Alwaye on a Travancore pension".

[2] Mr. Achyutta Menon writes: "Paru or Pindinivattat Svarupam comprises nearly the whole of the present taluk of Parur. The family is still in existence and receives a pension from Travancore.

[3] Explained p. 53 above.

of Palurty, half a mile from the town of Cochin, where the rightful princes of this state live in poverty. Curicatty Tavasy was added to the state in the same way, and there are also the territories taken from the Zamorin and handed over to His Highness by the Worshipful Admiral William Bakker Jacobsz; but the king's chief power lies in his landed proprietors of whom there are very many besides the four most important who have already been mentioned. We shall make mention of the principal proprietors later on.

The king is a Kshatrya by caste and the head of the Chodircur faction and without fear of contradiction the noblest of all the Malabar kings, being a sister's son and consequently the only and true heir of Cherum-Perumal. He is between 50 and 60 years old, a dull, grasping and fickle prince, little mindful of the favours so abundantly bestowed upon his ancestors and himself by the Honble Company. He is unfit to rule and allows himself to be led by his favourites. However he is good-natured and as long as the shrewd Ittikkella Menon, who was very well inclined towards the Honble Company, administered the state, there was little reason for complaint, but ever since the Palyet, the Caliacar Namburi and the two Chrisna Menons brought this courtier into disfavour with the king and forced him out of the conduct of affairs, the Company has little good to hope for from the king.

The second prince is very much like him both in years and in defects; but the 3rd prince, who is about 18, is very profligate and dissolute and brings a great deal of unrest upon the country by his extravagances, which it may be hoped, will in time subside.

The Cochin family had formerly five branches, viz., Martingel (Madatumkil), Mutta, Pallurty, Ellerta [Elaya] and Chalur. The last-named was formed by adoption in the year 1689 and is still in existence, but the other four have died out; the remaining branch is abundantly provided with princes and princesses.[1]

His Highness's hereditary lands and specially Peratbiddy[2] in the north export much pepper, but most of it is smuggled out, and all my endeavours to convince His Highness that it is at the least his duty to issue the necessary orders against smuggling have proved useless.

The Honble Company is his protector, but he depends more than is right on that; for surely this protection refers only to his public enemies, but he wishes to make use of it to oppress his weak vassals and neighbours and to employ the Company as a scarecrow to frighten the native chiefs with. This was by no means the intention of the Honble Company. In such cases you should oppose him with moderation, and if this has no effect you should give a hand to the wronged party in order to prevent many calamities and complications.

(16) The Anjicaimals.

The Anjicaimals[3] are oppressed most of all by him because they lie in the heart of his territories and right opposite his palace on the other side of the river; but it is for this very reason that they ought to be protected by the Honble Company against the greediness of the king, and Their Right Worshipfuls have ordered a police force to be stationed in the bazaar of Anjicaimal; for this fertile land has of old been looked upon as the store-house of Cochin, which indeed it is. These Caimals are very powerful and would be able to make head againt the king if they were united among themselves, but they count five leading houses, viz., Cherally, Cunattunadu, Palurgatte, Corumalecur and Badercur, and these again have many sub-divisions, which is the reason of their powerlessness.

The lands of Cherally lie in front and this is the reason why he suffers most, but he is the strongest, as he is also the chief of Curemalecur by adoption, and I have advised him occasionally to show his teeth, first taking care that right is on his side;

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[1] The Muta Tavazhi still exists and is the present ruling house. The others are extinct except the Chazhur, which has however lost the right of succession to the *gadi*.

[2] Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The territory to the east of Shoranur along the southern bank of the Ponnani river for about 10 or 12 miles was formerly called Perattuviti (Peratbiddy), the Ponnani river being known there as the Perar."

[3] Anjacaimals, *i.e.*, the five chiefs, Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "The only surviving family is that of Cheranallur Karta (Cherally), whose seat is in a village of the same name five miles to the north of Ernaculam. It still owns extensive landed property".

and in such a case it will be your Worship's business to stop those quarrels by the authority of the Company and to act as mediator. I think this is the only way somewhat to moderate the unbearable vexations of the king. Of these lands those of Curemalecur, Tachetta Munnencur and Tattayetta Pannicail export much pepper, but the Company has never had, and will never get, a grain of it except by determined measures. All I have been able to obtain from Cherally are promises to grow pepper in his lower lands for the Company on the pretext that it would be too expensive and difficult to have the grain brought down from the higher lands by land. This excuse is not without foundation, for while we were in Kismalanadu, which land borders on Curumalecur, we were at a loss how to bring down the pepper without heavy expenses, great trouble and waste, and for this reason Their Right Worshipfuls by secret letter, dated 22nd June 1741, have proposed that this grain should be sold on the spot at 75 per cent. premium.

Caimal Cherally is a gentleman between 50 or 60 years old, particularly cautious and shrewd and devoted to the Hon[ble] Company. His heirs are not great courtiers but good soldiers, and when they take up the administration they will probably not put up with the injustice of the King of Cochin but rather follow the example of their neighbours, Murianatty Nambiar and Coddachery Caimal, two powerful vassals of this king, who being tired of his extortions sent home the king's messengers, or rather marauders, with bleeding heads, by which they incurred the great hatred of the grasping king, but have since lived in peace.

(17) Murianatty.[1]

The lands of Murianatty lie between Cochin, Paponetty, Belosta Nambiar and Coddacherry and export a fair amount of pepper, of which however the Hon[ble] Company gets little enough. This Nambiar is between 40 and 50 years old, very truculent and arrogant. He has no heirs and on account of the disputes which have been mentioned the king is unwilling to validate the adoption which he would like to make from Belonga. He has several times requested the Hon[ble] Company to support him in this matter and we have promised him to do so provided he supplies his pepper to the Company. But as he has never been able to make up his mind and after much delay has offered no more than 8,000 lbs. annually, although his lands can well produce 150 candies, the adoption has not yet come to anything.

However it is to be feared that if that gentleman comes to die without an heir, the king of Cochin will try to swallow up that beautiful land; so in time we shall have to disregard all considerations and compel the king to allow the adoption.

(18) Coddachery Caimal.

The country of Coddacherry Caimal lies between Paru, Cranganore, the Cochin territories and the hills. It exports 125 candies of pepper and the best cardamom to be found round about here. During the first three or four years of my administration this Caimal brought his pepper to Chettua, but afterwards he could not be induced to do so any longer saying right out, "if my neighbours supply their pepper to the Hon[ble] Company I shall do the same, but I have become a laughing-stock because I have sold this product to the Hon[ble] Company for 13 ducats while the other chiefs have received 24 ducats; this I cannot any longer consent to "[2].

The cardamom and the wax are in the hands of the Jesuits who have settled in this country at Ambelacatty, though their Archbishop, who takes his title from Cranganore, really resides at Putenchera half a mile further in the country of Cochin. I have taken great pains to rout out this mischievous rabble but in vain; and there is little hope of getting rid of them except by determined measures to which your Worship cannot resort without express orders from Their Right Worshipfuls.

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[1] *Murianatty*: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Muriyanad is in the Mukundupuram taluk of Cochin and near the Irinjalakuda Railway Station. The family now receives a pension from the Cochin Durbar."

[2] *Coddachery Caimal*: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Kodasseri is the tract of country surrounding the Chalakud Railway station. The new Forest tramway runs through it for several miles. The family still owns considerable landed property." 13 ducats = about Rs. 54, 24 ducats = about Rs. 100. The latter was about the market price and what the Caimal meant was that he had had enough of paying disguised tribute to the Dutch.

The Caimal is about 50 years old, a shrewd and crafty gentleman but very much addicted to drink; his successor is a bad lot, who has filled the country with counterfeit fanams. Coiners ought, according to the treaties, to suffer the death penalty. I have often pressed the king of Cochin to punish them, but he has never taken any steps in the matter as he fears the Nairs, who among the people of Malabar are looked upon as brave men.

(19) The Palyet.

The Palyet, principal Rajadore and hereditary general of the State of Cochin, resides at Chenotty quite near Cranganore; he is chief of the island of Baypin [Vypeen] and some time back he became by adoption a sovereign prince of Manacotta or Malurcarre which lies to the north of Chettua. He possesses also a right to the old state of Villiar Vattatta; this however is merely nominal.

The first Palyet is about 50 years old, a shrewd individual who speaks little but thinks a great deal. He pretends to be a great friend of the Honble Company, but everyone suspects him. Your Worship should show him kindness at least outwardly, until time shows what his intentions are. While I am writing news is brought that the first Palyet has died at Mulurcarre and the second has taken his place; the latter is a queer lot, but fairly well-disposed towards the Company.[1]

(20) Bardella and (21) Tevengel Nair.

The Prince of Bardella or Cherully has little power, but Tevengal Nair in the country of Malitur has brave Nairs.[2]

(22) Coretty.

The territory of the female Caimal of Coretty[3] situated in the same neighbourhood is of no great importance, still it exports 120 candies of pepper; which this worthless woman causes to be carried elsewhere. In the year 1730, she was adopted in the state of Mangatty without the knowledge or sanction of the Company. Instigated by the King of Cochin she has been the cause of a great deal of confusion there; for she maintains that one of her cousins will have to be adopted into the state; this should take place if she herself had children and if her own adoption were legal, but it cannot be extended to her cousins, and as there are in that state more than enough princes and princesses of the family of Valluanatty we have always opposed her in order to prevent the great harm that would result.

(23) Changara Codda.

Changara Codda is a Caimal of the Cochin state.[4]

The pepper which is found in his land is sent to the north. This Caimal, with those of Panamucattu, Coretty and Coddachery, are called the four Caimals of Nandilettu Naddu.

So far we have spoken of the state of Cochin; next follow the states and countries that adjoin it and are subject to the Company.

(24) Cranganore[5] or Paddinjattu Surovan.

Is a little kingdom five miles (= 20 English miles) to the north of the town of Cochin. By the treaty of peace made with the Zamorin on the 17th December 1717, it was placed under the Honble Company. There is only one princess, but to the

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[1] *The Palyet*: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Paliyat Achan (Achan, father, is a title) has no political power now, but he is the largest landowner and the wealthiest nobleman in Cochin. His principal seat is the island of Channamangalam (*Chenotty*) and he owns extensive landed property in Vypeen. *Manakote Nair's* family is now extinct and Paliyat Achan owns the property. *Villavattat Svarupam* became exinct about 1600 A D., and it is stated that the title with only a small portion of the estate passed to Paliyat Achan". Mulurcarre is *Mullurkarra*, now a railway station.

[2] "*Cherulli Namburi* was the Brahmin chief of *Vadutala*, three miles to the north of Ernakulam. He has lands there now, but his family resides in Tiruta in the Mukundupuram Taluk. He is in affluent circumstances. I have not been able to obtain any information about Tevengal Nair." (Mr. Achuta Menon.)

[3] *Coretti Caimal* "Koratti is to the west of Kodasseri and adjoins it. The family is still in existence and in fairly good circumstances." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

[4] *Changera Codda*: "Changaramkota Caimal's Nad adjoins Muriyanad. The family exists and is in good circumstances." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

[5] *Cranganore*: Kodumgallur or Padinjattedat Svarupam is now a tiny principality and has an area of 19 square miles. It is under Cochin and pays a tribute of Rs. 6,876. It is financially autonomous, but in all other respects it is administered as one of the taluks of the Cochin State." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

great joy of the king she has been delivered of a son. The King is called the father of the Zamorin family because he has to live with the princesses of that State; however as this king is about 70 years old, he fulfils this duty by the imposition of hands.

(25) AIRUR OR BELANGA.

His cousin and neighbour is also under the Hon'ble Company, but both are poor princes without power.[1]

(26) PAPONETTY [PAPPINIVATTAM].

Province Paponetty was taken from the Zamorin in the late war and handed over to the Honble Company by the treaty of peace above mentioned, along with Trikonetty [Trikunnad], Aerattu[2], Aratta Pala [Arrattupuzha], Mudele Cunattu [Mutalacunnu] and Putenbare [Putampadam] which were ceded by His Worship the Councillor-Extraordinary and Commander-in-Chief William Bakker Jacobsz to the king of Cochin to the great displeasure of Their Right Worshipfuls the Right Indian Government at Batavia.[3]

This Province has been much improved since our occupation by the discovery of many misappropriated lands, gardens and rights and produced last year $734\frac{25}{64}$ rix-dollars in cash and 235 lasts of rice. These revenues have since been increased by 170 Cranganore parras and 11 gold fanams.[4]

By a secret despatch of 4th July 1740 Their Right Worshipfuls have returned to the king of Cochin the so-called eighteen half-villages which are situated in it, because his claim to the same was judged to be good.

Sergeant Arnoldus Leenen and Corporal Claas de Jager exercise supervision over it and give satisfaction.

(27) BELOSTA NAMBIAR.

Belosta Nambiar, lord of Maprana, is a landed proprietor and subject to the Honble Company; his property borders on the lands of Murianatty Nambiar, Province Paponetty and Trichur.

Formerly he was under the Zamorin, but in the previous war he lost his lands and the king of Cochin appropriated them. However to the great chagrin of the king of Cochin this proprietor of the house of Vengenatta was restored to his former position by Commandeur Joannes Hertenberg. The terms may be found in the contract concluded with him, dated 27th June 1709. The king of Cochin has not ceased to give him trouble every now and then, but has always found the Honble Company in the way.[5]

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[1] "Ayirur or *Vellangallur Svarupam* was a collateral branch of the Cranganore family and its territory lay to the north of Cranganore. The family lost its territory in the time of Tippu and is now living in the mainland in the village of Vellangallur four miles to the north-east of Cranganore. The major portion of the territory now forms part of British Malabar." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

[2] Elsewhere (MS No. 105) spelt Oerotto (pronounce Urotto). Mr. Achyuta Menon notes that the Cochin State records show that Urakam (locative *Urotta*) is meant.

[3] "*Het Conquest Paponetty*" or briefly "Het Conquest". I translate "Province Paponetty" on the analogy of Province Wellesley in the Straits Settlements. The campaign of 1717 by which the Dutch Company acquired this territory, a strip of land between Cranganore and Chetway, is described at pages 20—22 of my introduction. The Province is now part of British Malabar by inheritance from the Dutch and Hyder Ali. The remaining territories mentioned are in the Trichur taluk of the Cochin State.

[4] 734 rix-dollers = 2,202 (light) guilders. The revenues of the Province for 1741/2 are reckoned on page 71 below as 9,143 light guilders. The 235 lasts of paddy seem accordingly to have been calculated at about 30 guilders or say Rs. 18 a last. In 1678 A.D. rice was 16 to 17 rix-dollars or about Rs 30 a last in Canara (Batavia Diary 1678, p. 245) and a century later in 1778 A.D. paddy was Rs. 33 a last at Cochin, rice Rs. 75 a last (M.S. No. 1066). At this time the price of rice in Canara had risen from 10 to 24 pagodas, or say Rs. 35 to Rs. 84 a last (see p. 78 below). A last is a ton, and in these records the Batavia Diary (1645, page 308, 1678, etc.) and Valentijn I have come across lasts of 2,400, 3,000 and 3,420 Dutch pounds and 5 candies. The grain last was in 1778, 75 *parras* of 40 Dutch pounds each or 3,000 lbs. (MS. No. 1066). 75 parras were also reckoned to the grain last in 1764 A.D. (MS. No. 741) and 40 lbs. to the parra of rice in 1777 (MS. No. 1054, p. 177). The parra was, and is a variable weight or measure being 10 times a variable *idangali* or common Malabar measure. Earlier it appears to have been taken as about 36 Dutch pounds (14 to the candy of 500 lbs. at Cochin, according to Valentijn; also 14 to the candy of about 214 chilos in Portuguese times at Cochin according to Nuniz' tables in edition of Gaspar Correa). A *fanam* is a goldsmith's weight of about 6 grains (about 30 to weight of a rupee, 20 to weight of the English sovereign; a Cochin goldsmith whom I interrogated reckons 31 and 21 respectively) and also a coin, originally of gold, then of silver and mixed metals. In a letter written to Holland in 1742 (MS. No. 357) $586\frac{1}{16}$ rix-dollars is given as the equivalent of $5,488\frac{1}{2}$ gold fanams, *i.e.*, 8 fanams were reckoned to the dollar or $4\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee. Moens reckons $492\frac{1}{2}$ gold fanams in these same parts as equivalent to Rs. 98 in 1755 (or 1781)—*vide* p. 136 below; *i.e.*, a little over 5 gold fanams to the rupee. In MS No. 848 (Land Revenue Accounts) it is mentioned that the gold fanams in which rents for these lands were reckoned were Calicut gold fanams.

[5] Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The family of *Velos* or *Velosnad Nambiyar* was by adoption a branch of the family of the Venganad (*Vengenatta*) Nambidi or Raja of Kollengode. It is now extinct."

This Nambiar is between 50 and 60 years old; he pays the Hon[ble] Company 3 lasts of rice annually, but the palam[1] which he paid the Zamorin before and consequently owes to the Hon[ble] Company, he has never yet been willing to pay. He is an irritable gentleman who often meddles with things which do not concern him at all; and when he finds himself embroiled, he would like the Hon[ble] Company to come to his assistance; which is not at all their intention.

(28) Changaracanda Caimal and (29) Chittur Nambury.

Changaracanda Caimal and Chittur Nambury, whose lands lie to the south of Inamaka and near Acrattu [Urakkam] and Arattupula, are two proprietors who were also formerly under the Zamorin, but by the oft-mentioned treaty of peace of the year 1717, they have been placed under the Hon[ble] Company on terms which may be seen in article 24. Now and again they are disturbed by the ambitious Rajadores of the king of Cochin, but are always supported by the Hon[ble] Company.[2]

(30) Payenchery Nair.

Payenchery Nair is an important proprietor. His lands lie to the north of the kingdom of Cochin. They were formerly under the Zamorin, but under article 17 of the often-mentioned treaty they are now under the Hon[ble] Company. The Hon[ble] Company has in this country the important fortress of Chettua [Chettuvayi, Chetway].

The family of the Payenchery Nairs consists of four houses, which are again sub-divided into many branches; they are so involved in quarrels and disputes that there is no end to it. In the capacity of supreme ruler the Hon[ble] Company has to settle these disputes, but as this cannot be done according to our ways of thinking, each contending party brings two good men to enquire into the matter and to settle it. If they cannot come to an agreement, the first Payenchery is bound to add two impartial men. But as the first, second and third of the family, being old men with one foot in the grave, have not sufficient energy, the Honble Company must sometimes add two Brahmins.

Most embarrassing of all is the fact that the losing party of this petty clan (the worst on the Malabar Çoast) does not think of submitting to the decision, but runs off to the Zamorin, who does not fail to meddle quite *mal à propos*. Some time ago this was permitted in a quarrel between the Ittiteyen and Ulattu Nairs owing to the dangerous state of the times; but in future such interference should be politely prohibited with the assurance that the Honble Company never refuses justice to its subjects.

This land belonged formerly to the Princes of Charkare, who lost it because the last owner made a voluntary gift of it to the Payenchery Nairs, his illegitimate sons, out of dislike of his nearest of kin, who now live there as private individuals and in very poor cicumstances.[3]

So far we have treated of the Hon[ble] Company's vassals. Between the kingdom of Cochin and the Zamorin lies

(31) to (33) Tallapally.

It consists of four principalities called. Ainecutty, Punatur, Mannacolam and Cacattu. The last-named house having died out, that country was to be divided among the remaining three and Punatur did in fact obtain his share; but Ainecutty and Mannacolam made a treaty that the remainder of Cacattu should be governed by them in turns; this has been done ever since and at present it is ruled by Ainecutty.[4]

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[1] *Palam.*—Mr. Achynta Menon writes: "Palam was a sort of protection money which holders of land used to pay their overlords in addition to rent or assessment." The rent or land-tax which the Dutch levied in Province Papouetty is called "protection-money" in the accounts (MS. No 848).

[2] Mr. Achynta Menon writes: "The family of *Changaramkanda Kaimal* or Karta is still in existence and in fairly easy circumstances. *Chittur Namburipad* was a Namburi (Brahman) chief. He is not a chief now, but a landlord like other Namburi landlords and is in affluent circumstances."

[3] "*Sarkara Svarupam*," writes Mr. Achyuta Menon "was another branch of the Cranganore family, and ruled over the northern portion of the island One of the chiefs quarrelled with his nephews, the legitimate hairs, and made over the country to his Nair children, the *Pazhancheri Nairs*. Sarkara is now extinct. The family of the Pazhancheri Nairs now consists of several branches, only one or two of which are in easy circumstances."

[4] *Talapilli* is now the name of the northern taluk of the Cochin State. Mr. Achynta Menon notes: "The western half of this taluk and the Chevakad side of Malabar were under the sway of four chiefs called Talapilli Rajas or *Avinikur Nambidies*. *Kakad*, one of the branches, became extinct, while some of the other branches were further sub-divided. The branches now in existence are Punatur, Manakolam, Cheralayam, Chittanjur, Kumarapuram and Anaykal. The first three of those are still substantial holders of land. The eldest male member of all the branches except Punatur assumes the title of Kakad Karanavapad and enjoys the income of what remains of the Kakad estate."

Aineeutty Nambeddy is in reality under Cochin, but he cares little for him owing to the Zamorin being in the neighbourhood; to-day he is a good Zamorin's man and to-morrow a good Cochin's man according as his own interests require. The king has often requested us to support him against this man, and it is no doubt very necessary; but since if we did so the Zamorin would surely meddle we have thought it would be too dangerous and have asked His Highness to exercise a little patience until the hands of the Honble Company are somewhat freeer.

Punatur Nambeddy is under the Zamorin. He is a restless and irritable ruler, and the cause of much trouble between the kings of Cochin and the Zamorin. Three years ago he attempted to bring the French into his land and to make himself independent of the Zamorin; but he was forestalled and those friends had courage enough, but not sufficient power, to put their designs into execution and had to take their departure without accomplishing anything, and they appear now to have dropped the matter entirely; at least Punatur has been a great deal more tractable for some time past and, among other things, he has promised to supply the Honble Company with a consignment of beams from his own country; but we cannot depend upon the pepper which grows in his land unless higher prices should move him.

Mannacolam is the smallest of the rulers in Tallapally; he is under the Zamorin and the king of Cochin. He gives much less trouble than the other two. He always showed in the late war that he was faithful to the Company and since that time he has done nothing that could displease us.

(34) Manacotta.

Manacotta or Nulucarre is a freehold estate inherited by the Palyet; it lies to the east of Perattobiddy and hard by the lands of the Zamorin.

(35) Valluanatty [Valavanad] alias Arangolla.

Valluanatty *alias* Arangolla is a kingdom situated next to Betette [Vettadnad]. The king has the privilege every twelve years of sending notorious murderers to the feast of Mamanga, the right to conduct which, so he says, has been taken away from him by the Zamorin contrary to all right and justice. A few weeks ago he caused two elephants of the Zamorin to be carried off; which has provoked the Zamorin to such an extent that the latter intends to make war upon him after the feast of Mamanga; but as this is a matter in no way affecting the Honble Company we may look forward to the results with equanimity.[1]

(36) to (42) The Zamorin.

The Zamorin or Errenaddecarre [Karta of Ernad, the original seat of the family] and Neddu Viripu [Nediyirippu Svarupam] is the third Chief King of Malabar and a powerful prince, although his influence has been a good deal diminished by the late war. His extensive lands lie between the countries of Cochin and Colastry [Kólattri of Cannanore]. He is the head of the Pandircur Faction. His power is divided among his nobles of whom the principal are Mangatty Atja, the hereditary general, Tinanchery Elledam Paranby and Dhermuttu Pannical [Dharmotu Pannikar]; the influence of the last-named has been greatly checked by the loss of a large portion of his lands which were taken from him by the Honble Company.

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[1] *Mamanga Festival.*—Mamanga is sometimes explained as Malayalam Mahamakham, Sanskrit Mahâmaghâ, from mahâ, great, and maghâ, tenth asterism. It is called the great magham festival to distinguish it from the annual magham festival, and occurs only once in twelve years "between the 12th of February and the 11th of March when Jupiter joins Simham and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Macleane). Logan explains as Mahâ Makham, "big sacrifice" (I, 162). Elsewhere it is a bathing festival. That of Tirunáváyi had peculiar features, and seems to have absorbed some ancient sacrificial feast. The Zamorin stood on a platform surrounded by armed men. The Valavanad Nairs, who had been selected for death on the occasion, were decked out with flowers and smeared with ashes and then sent to the attack and killed. In the festival of 1683 A.D. described by Logan (I, 164–8) from records of the Zamorin's, 18 men were so killed on one day and others on successive days. The celebration of 1695 A.D. is referred to by Hamilton (New Account of the East Indies, 1739, I. 307). The details and tradition given by Logan are significant, and point to an original conception of the sacrifice of the king at fixed intervals for the good of his people; *i.e.*, the common sacrificial conception which has been copiously illustrated by writers on anthropology. In historic times the chief conducting the festival was considered the head of Malabar, and chiefs acknowledging the authority of the Zamorin sent him flags. That the Valluvanad Raja claimed that his right had been usurped by the Zamorin appears from other authorities. From the Tellicherry Diary for September 1741 it appears that the Zamorin excused himself from paying some £11,000 sterling he owed to the English Company on the ground of the great expense he would be put to some months later by the Mamanga festival.

The king is a prince of between 30 and 35 years old, adopted from the house of Neliseram; he came to the throne last year and seems to be a man of a good disposition, but a little too gentle to oppose adequately the seething humours of his second prince, who boasts that he intends to live and die a mortal enemy of the Hon'ble Company. Some months ago we felt something of the effects of this boast when this foolhardy prince, without any previous declaration of war and without the slightest show of reason, suddenly with about 1,000 men, made a raid upon the kingdom of Cochin and laid waste the land of Mangalam. At the same time the English of Madras received information of the return to these regions of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff and they spread the report of it, whereupon all his nefarious schemes fell to pieces and he thought it advisable to sheathe the sword very quickly. The Zamorin declared that everything had been done without his orders; we did not fail to profit by this and a peace was concluded on the 3rd of December ultimo in the presence of our deputies, the under-merchants François Terburg and Guillaume Gerard Franchimont. It is to be hoped that this peace will be lasting. At any rate we have seriously warned the king of Cochin to avoid carefully every occasion of new disturbances and rather to bear and digest a small injustice than bring greater upon himself, inasmuch as the Hon'ble Company cannot help him at present. The king holds his court at Panany [Ponnáni] where the Hon'ble Company has a resident, viz., the book-keeper Gerrit Van Dorpen, who has only to watch the stratagems of the court, and, as since the late war very little good is spoken of the Hon'ble Company in those quarters, one seldom gets anything but reports of danger from there, which should neither disquiet your Worship too much nor be altogether disregarded; but prudence demands that inquiries be made and that you ever hold yourself well on the defensive. At present the Zamorin is celebrating the famous feast of Mamanga at Tirnevay with much pomp and not without heavy expenses.

The northern portion of this kingdom, called Cottica after the river [R. Kótta] of that land, is inhabited by Moors [Muhammadans] who are pirates and are able to do much harm to small traders, but they do not lightly venture to attack ships or large vessels. It is true that the Zamorin does not exactly openly approve of this, but there is not the slightest doubt that they obtain his full permission secretly by means of gifts and presents.

The countries of Bettette [Vettadnad] *alias* Tanore, Parapur Covil [Parappúr Palace, *i.e.*, family; seat near Beypore], Reppu Covil[1], Maisur [Mysore] and Palicatchery [Palghat] border on the lands of the Zamorin. We omit them because the Hon'ble Company has no dealings of importance with them, though according to the orders of Their Right Worshipfuls of 22nd September 1705, a good understanding should be maintained with the two last-named so that we may be able to make use of them against the Zamorin on occasion.

(43) TO (47) COLASTRY [KÓLATTIRI, RULER OF KÓLAM COUNTRY]

is called Colamvasitsja by the Malabar people. It is the last and most northerly of the four chief kingdoms of Malabar. It has been so much ruined by internal dissensions and wars that this country, formerly so powerful, is no longer a chief kingdom except in name.

The Hon'ble Company possesses in it the important fortress of Cannanore which has been restored in my time by order of Their Right Worshipfuls.

The English have built a strong fortress at Talichery [Tellicherry] in the country of Cunje Nair, a vassal of this kingdom, and the French have built one at Mahé in the country of the Balnore of Bargare, who is also a vassal of Colastry. These things are wholly at variance with our exclusive contracts with the kings of Colastry, and they have been sorry long since, but too late, in view of the bloody war between the above-named Balnore and the French which has been carried on for some years and which was underhand greatly fomented by the English Commandant at Talicherry, Mr. William Wake, with little advantage to the French until finally the Balnore was forced last year by the squadron of M. La Bourdonnois to make peace. This peace

[1] *Reppu Covil.*—Reppu seems to be a mistake for Beppu, the spelling in one manuscript of Van Rheede's Memoir; and in any case it is pretty clear to me, after a comparison with Van Rheede's Memoir and the English Malabar Commission's Reports, 1792–1793, that what is meant is the Béppúr (Beypore) family, a branch of the Parapúr family.

however has not been very disadvantageous to them owing to the intrigues of the above-mentioned commandant and may possibly last only as long as their interests require.[1]

Near the bay of Cannanore, which is the full property of the Hon'ble Company on account of the right which the Portuguese had to it, lies the bazaar of the Moors whose chief is called Adiraja. He also has made exclusive contracts with the Hon'ble Company, which however he does not observe any better than the other princes. After the death of the Bibi or ruling queen which occurred last year, her son, the young Adiraja, has come to the throne ; he is a profligate young whelp, wholly devoted to the French. Whenever occasion offers, he displays great dislike and contempt for the Hon'ble Company, though owing to our serious threats he has been somewhat quieter of late ; possibly he may become wiser in time as he grows in years.

However if a war should break out between our state and France and he should commit himself too far with that nation or allow it entrance to the bazaar, it will not be amiss to show him that he is within range of the cannon of our fortress and then he will draw in his horns.

Still it is an unaccountable fact that we have allowed the fort of Casanacotta to be built not only within range of our fortress, but even on such an advantageous elevation that it could sufficiently command our fortifications if it were provided with the same heavy cannon as ours. I have no further remarks to make about this proprietor except that the Lekker-Diva [Laccadive] islands belong to him.

It is a matter for much reflection that the kingdom of Colastry continued to be in a flourishing condition as long as the Hon'ble Company alone was settled there, but since the English and the French have established themselves there, it has fallen into a state of decay. Even the Moors of the bazaar were formerly rich merchants, but they have now fallen into a state of complete decline.[2]

The king or ruling prince and the king of Cottatta [Kottayam], a powerful vassal of this kingdom, have lately promised great advantages to the Hon'ble Company's Chief, the under-merchant Jacob Dam, if the Hon'ble Company be willing to protect them against their enemies. But knowing as we do from experience how ungrateful this nation is and how quickly they forget benefits received, we have rejected their proposals under pretext of our inability owing to the war with Travancore, and however alluring their promises may be, your Worship should never engage yourself with them without express orders of the Their Right Worshipfuls.

At the same time it must be said that the fortress of Cannanore is wholly unnecessary if we do not endeavour to draw profits from that country some way or other ; the more so because the English have already established themselves at Talichery and the French at Mahé and they enjoy all the products of that country. It would be desirable to secure so much stock merchandise as at least to be able to flaunt our fortress without loss to the Hon'ble Company, for there may yet be a chance of selling it. While I am writing this, news is brought that the differences between Colastry and Adiraja have, as was generally expected, ended in open hostilities. As the Hon'ble Company has no interests in these countries, it will be unnecessary to interfere in the matter unless in course of time Their Right Worshipfuls should give orders to that effect and place your Worship in a position to give valuable support to one or other party.[3]

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[1] Tellicherry was built in the country of the *Kurangot Nair* by permission of a prince of one of the branches of the Kólattiri family, referred to in the Tellicherry Diaries as "the Prince Regent" or "Our Prince" and in a report of 1761 (Graeme's Report, paragraph 81) as "King Badalamcur", *i e.*, Vadakkankur or the northern prince. The *Balnore of Bargare* is referred to in the Tellicherry Diaries as the *Boyanore* or *Barnor* and by Hamilton (New Account 1739, I. 298) as the "Ballanore Burgarie, a formidable prince." Balnore = Malayalam Valunnavar, ruler. Bargare = Badagara (Vadahara). The French settled at Mahé (Mayyazhi) re-named Mahé in honour of Mahé de Labourdonnais, (then a young Captain) in 1725. A full (though owing to the bias of his authorities not unprejudiced) account of these transactions taken from the MS. Tellicherry Diaries will be found in Logan's Malabar.

[2] *Adiraja* is Ali Raja, the Sea King. The family still exists and has just (1909) ceded the Laccadive islands to the Crown. The succession of the Ali Raja here referred to "aged fifteen about" is recorded in the Tellicherry Diary under date 8th April 1742, and his subsequent history is given in Chapter V of Moens' Memoir.

[3] With rivals in the field who could also accommodate the native princes with supplies of arms, the Dutch could no longer pursue in Colastry their usual policy of obtaining the products of the country for very much less than the market-price in consideration of supplying arms (on payment). In 1766 however (Report dated 18th February) the Dutch Chief of Cannanore was still of opinion that the fort was worth keeping. It was an excellent fort, strongly situated and could be defended by a small force. It was favourably situated for commerce and in time of peace Rs. 65,000 of merchandise could be disposed of annually and 500 to 600 candies of pepper could be collected. He thought it would be a pity to abandon the trade there altogether to their rivals. However the Dutch were paying the

(48) Canara

borders in the south on Colastry, the river Nilieseram [Nilesvaram] runs between the two and it is the last country on the Malabar coast. This is a splendid and powerful kingdom; it abounds in everything and especially rice, being the granary of many nations and particularly of the Portuguese at Goa, who annually send a large number of vessels—known as the rice armada—under convoy of some battleships to protect them against the Angria pirates [1], to this kingdom, and keep a resident at Mangalore in a small fort.

All nations trade freely in the harbours of this kingdom, Onore [Honavar], Mangalore, Bacquenor [Barkur], Molekki [Mulki] and Baticulo [Bhatkal] notwithstanding the exclusive contracts which the Hon'ble Company has made with the old rulers of that kingdom; and the Hon'ble Company now possesses only the harbour at Barsalore [Basrur] called Condapore, where there is a "lodge" (unfortified factory) with two residents, and a handsome trade is sometimes driven.[2] But owing to the unsafety on the sea, the bad conduct of the residents, and want of ships and stock merchandise, no more goods have been sent for some time than are necessary for the purchase of rice and sandalwood and for the expenses of the establishment there. However Their Right Worshipfuls may possibly in time to come send for large quantities of areca of the kind which is exported to China, if suitable profits can be secured.

Before my arrival there was at Barsalore a court merchant called Sonderdas Vistnadas who alone was authorised to deal with Hon'ble Company; this was a very bad arrangement, because, being bound to make great gifts to the king for this post, he finally got to the end of his cash and into great difficulties as the residents had allowed themselves to be persuaded to deliver the Company's goods to him on credit. When he had become insolvent, they demanded a settlement from the court. This was done on good grounds, seeing that His Highness had forced the Hon'ble Company to deal with that man; but all this was knocking at a deaf man's door and the Hon'ble Company was compelled to put on her armour and to seek her rights by force of arms, since they could not be obtained otherwise.

Since your Worship commanded these expeditions in the years 1736, 1737 and 1738 and concluded them to the satisfaction of our Ma ters and with honour to your Worship's self, and moreover, in the character of the Hon'ble Company's representative, concluded a peace with that ruler in the year 1738, I need not enter into particulars. Your Worship knows that His Highness has fully accepted the draft treaty but from a sort of capriciousness very common in these people has refused to sign it. However it was observed during his lifetime and also by his successor, except that the latter is not inclined to permit the Hon'ble Company to have a fortress built in his country, nor to exempt from tolls his merchants who deal with the Hon'ble Company; however these two points are not of much importance since Their Right Worshipfuls did not claim

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market-price for pepper (Rs. 109 a candy) at Cannanore in 1766 (MS. No. 855) and on these terms it was really not worth their while to stick to it. They were only paying Rs. 65 a candy in Travancore. They were ready to sell the fort either to Hyder Ali of Mysore or to the Ali Raja, and finally sold it to the latter in 1771 for a lakh of rupees, of which they got about half a lakh down and found it difficult to collect the rest (Moens' Memoir, p. 118 below).

[1] The material at the India Office and in the Bombay records for a history of the Angria pirates has been drawn on in Biddulph's Pirates of Malabar, Smith Elder & Co., 1907. More remains in MS. Dutch records and Tellicherry and Anjengo diaries at Madras. Their power was broken a few years after Stein Van Gollenesse wrote by James' capture of Savarna Drug (1755) and the capture of Gheriah by Clive and Watson (1756). These pirates had strongholds along 200 miles of coast. One called Kennery or Canary on an island near Bombay is thus described in the MS. diary of Stephen Strutt (1714) in the Madras records: "About this afternoon were abreast of Canary belonging to Angria. It seems very well fortified and full of houses. It may be about two miles in circumference and lies about 13 miles from the main and 14 from Bombay." Bombay expeditions against Kennery and Gheria in 1717 failed, and Portuguese, Dutch and joint expeditions were no more successful. A year before Savarna Drug was taken, the Dutch had lost two ships and a yacht to the Angrians (MS. No. 593), and these pirates had then for over half a century defied the native princes and European nations, taken their ships and plundered unfortified places. Sevendroog Tower, Shooter's Hill, Woolwich, commemorates James' achievement:

This far-seen monumental tower
  Records the achievements of the brave,
And *Angria's* subjugated power
  That plundered on the eastern wave.

[2] *Cf.* Hamilton I, 275: *Onoar* is its (Canara's) northernmost port, and has the benefit of a river capable to receive ships of 2 or 300 tons. It has a castle on a low hill about a mile within the bar built of old by the Portuguese when they were Lords Paramount of all the sea-coasts of India (Id. I, 279). *Batacola*, which has the vestigia of a very large city, standing on a broad river about four miles from the sea . . . . The Dutch have a factory here only to buy up rice for their factories on the Malabar Coast. It stands about a mile from the river's mouth . . . . and has a castle on its north side for its guard (Id. I, 282 rice). *Mangalore* is the greatest mart for trade in all the Canara dominions. . . . The Portuguese have a factory for rice here and a pretty large church.

the first and the second is entirely contrary to Malabar customs. By this treaty the Hon'ble Company has been relieved of obligation to deal with no one except the court merchant; for this permission we pay the king an annual sum of 500 P^a/₀ of Ikkeri.[1]

(49) Sunda, (50) Sivaji and (51) Angria Pirates.

Further to the north are the territories of the King of Sunda; Caudevar [Karwar, properly Kadvád] is the chief place. With this the Hon'ble Company is in no way concerned, but it is concerned with his neighbour the Sivaji or Kempsjent [Khem Sávant], a small robber chief; the Hon'ble Company had formerly a lodge in his country [Sávant Vádi State] at Vingurla. He is growing more powerful every year and pretends to be a great friend of the Hon'ble Company, possibly because he is not powerful enough to harm it and looks upon it as alone able to check his formidable rivals, the Angria pirates. These pirates too are growing stronger every day to the great chagrin of all European and Native traders. What happened between the Hon'ble Company and those pirates, how they captured the Ceylon and Cochin yachts and how Their Right Worshipfuls wished to take revenge by sending a considerable squadron to that place in the year 1739 under your Worship's command and what the result of this was need not be related here, because all this is fully known to your Worship and can be read in the records. Their Right Worshipfuls have since ordered by despatch, dated 30th October 1739, that they must be injured in every possible way until they make honourable amends.

Meanwhile their head, called Sambasy[2] Angria Sarkel, has died and has been succeeded by his brother. According to reports from Barsalore the latter would be inclined to make peace with the Hon'ble Company after making due reparation; time must show what will come of this. On the 23rd of January ultimo these people made bold to attack the roadstead of Calicut quite unexpectedly with 7 guraps and 23 galvets[3] and caused great damage to the English and Native traders. We sent our ships Popkensburg and 'S Heeren Arendskerk to that place in order to drive the pirates away from our neighbourhood, but before our arrival they had already gone to the north.

They had never before ventured so far south.

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[1] *Ikkeri* was the old capital of the kingdom of Canara or Bednore. A full description of Ikkeri in the time of its splendour at the beginning of the 17th century will be found in Della Valle. From entries in MS. No. 471 it is clear that the abbreviation P a/₀ stands for "pagoda" a coin worth about 2 rix-dollars or 3½ rupees. Valentijn (1726) gives the value of the Canarose pagoda as 2 rix-dollars = 6 guilders. In 1732 the Dutch reckoned 1 Ikkeri pagoda = 1⅞ths rix-dollars (MS. No. 184). In 1740 the Tellicherry factors note the price of "Icaree pagodas" as Rs. 348 per 100; in 1744 27 Icaree pagodas = Rs. 96,002.

[2] Sambhaji. Lambasy in the Dutch of volume No. 1 in this series is a misprint.

[3] The Angrian fleets were always composed of *guraps* (English groab, grab, perhaps from Arabic ghorab, raven) and *galvets* (English gallivat, galvat, from Mahratta galbat, ship). Grabs and gallivats are thus described by Orme I, 408: "The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three, and are about 300 tons; but the two-masted grabs are not more than 150 tons. They are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing, however, from the middle of the bows, where they have a prow projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulkhead which terminates the forecastle; as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides, as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interception. On the main deck, under the forecastle, are mounted two pieces of cannon, nine or twelve pounders, which point forward through the portholes cut in the bulkhead and fire over the prow; the cannon on the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding seventy tons. They have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight, the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spare deck made for lightness of split bamboos, and these carry only "petteraroes" which are fixed on swivels in the gunwale of the vessel; but those of a larger size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of canon, from two to four pounders; they have forty to fifty stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour.—The Tellicherry Diary also refers to Angria's attack on shipping in the Calicut roads in January 1743.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPANY'S PROFITS AND REVENUES.

We now come to the second chapter dealing with the profits accruing to the Hon'ble Company on this coast by the sale of its merchandise, the yield of the Hon'ble Company's tolls, rent of gardens and lands, etc., and also by the purchase of stock merchandise and necessaries, etc.

With regard to the first point, the sale of goods, it is certain that, although the Malabari himself does not consume any large amount, a considerable quantity of stock merchandise could be disposed of in this town, as was shown in the year 1739, when the ships "Polanen" and "Ridderskerk" bound for Mocha were stopped here and four ship loads were disposed of without any difficulty, and there was not enough by a long way for the eager merchant.

The following articles I call stock merchandise: sugar, Japanese bar-copper, spices, saltpetre, tin, lead, armozines [1], country resin, iron, piece-goods of different sorts, cloths, silk stuff, benzoin [2], camphor, vermilion, quicksilver, assafoetida; of which articles some may be disposed of in larger, others in smaller, quantities.

These goods are mostly fetched away in vessels from Purbander, Sind and Cathai [possibly Keti port, Karachi district] or are taken to Calicut, where they have their rendezvous.

Native traders bring in much cotton and medicinal herbs of all kinds, but chiefly cash consisting of rupees.

The reasons why the other western factories should have preference as against Malabar are well known; still it would be highly desirable if trade were to improve so everywhere that the Malabar people could take enough stock merchandise at least to make good the expenses of so many garrisons.

Under this heading something must be said of opium and elephants. Opium was formerly one of the chief articles sold by the Hon'ble Company on the coast here, and great profits could be realised, because it was the custom to exchange opium for pepper. But in the time of Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon it was judged that this was a kind of coercion, contrary to mercantile methods; so the practice was discontinued and it was ordered that pepper should be paid for in cash. It was thought that this grain would now flow in in abundance, and indeed this expectation would not have proved unfounded provided we had been willing to pay the market price.

Meanwhile opium had come into such great demand at Batavia that abundant sales were carried on there and the profits were greater than could ever be expected on this coast. So the sending of this article here was stopped. Since that time the English have firmly established themselves in the north and south of Malabar at Talichery (Tellicherry) and Ansjenga (Anjengo) and have flooded the country with drug of an inferior kind called Baglapourse, which is in great demand owing to its low price; and so the Honourable Company have had no further chance of selling any. We have often reproached the kings and proprietors for permitting this contrary to treaty provisions. They have admitted the violation, but tried to excuse themselves by saying that the Hon'ble Company no longer imports opium. Their Right Worshipfuls again sent twenty boxes two years ago, but as the contents were old and dry and could by no means fetch the Batavia price of 400 rix-dollars, and the merchants could in no way be moved to pay more than the market price, viz., 145 rix-dollars, the boxes were returned.

Of the four elephants sent here recently by the "Opperdoes" from Ceylon, two have been sold at a nice little profit of 2,031·10 guilders (Rs. 1,145) representing

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[1] Armozines are commonly enough mentioned in the records, especially in lists of silk cloths. From a price-list of 1726 in MS. No. 137, I find that single armozines were then sold in Holland for 6 to 7 guilders a piece, double for 13 to 14 guilders. In 1779 they were considerably dearer; single armozines 20 × 2 cobidos were then worth $11\frac{3}{4}$ guilders, double armozines, 21 × $2\frac{1}{4}$ cobidos, $13\frac{1}{2}$ guilders (MS. No. 1134).

[2] Benzoin or Benjamin, as it is often called in the English records, is a resin of which incense was made.

a gain of 52·44 per cent. The two bigger animals have been sent on to Barssalore (Basrur) by the "Wapen van Hoorn". If their Right Worshipfuls would be pleased to allow a cargo of small elephants to be imported by the ships which come here empty from Ceylon every year, it would be easy to dispose of them quickly and profitably, because they are in great demand with the people of Malabar.

The king of Cochin claimed the tail-duty—as it is called—of the elephants recently sold. This is rightly due to him on all elephants which the people of Malabar export from or through his country, but it cannot be shown that the same rule applies to the Hon'ble Company, the rather because such a thing has not been the custom and is nowhere provided in the treaties, and besides the ground on which the town of Cochin is built has never been the property of this king but belonged to the king of Repolim from whom the Portuguese got it, and although His Highness has tolls collected in this town, it is no obligation but an act of courtesy on the part of the Hon'ble Company to permit the same, in order to bind His Highness more closely to the Hon'ble Company. However this act of kindness and many others rendered to this Raja by the Hon'ble Company seem to have been forgotten.

The Revenues of the Hon'ble Company's tolls, rents of gardens and lands, and taxes, amounted last year to the respectable sum of 43,484·5 guilders, namely :

Revenue of the year 1741/42 at Cochin.

By farm of gardens, islands, lands and salt-pans	*f.*	12,143	3	0
By farms of arrack and toddy tapping and also rent of the town-inn and tobacco	,,	9,390	0	0
By dues on legally imported and exported native merchandise.	,,	932	18	0
By taxes on slaves exported from this coast	,,	81	0	0
By taxes on houses and premises sold	,,	547	10	0
By dues on passing vessels at the fort of Cranganore ..	,,	231	15	8
By sale of stamped paper	,,	262	10	0
	f.	23,588	17	0
At Cannanore the revenues of arable lands on the hill of Carla, passports and cocoanuts sold, amount to	*f.*	399	7	8
At Coilan revenues of exported areca from the bay and of passports, amount to	,,	9,068	3	0
At Chettua by taxes on paddy, toddy and arrack tapping with dues on pepper	,,	1,284	1	0
At Paponetty by the farm of gardens and lands, salt-pans and slaves	,,	9,14[3]	16	8
Grand total	*f.*	43,484	5	0

With regard to the collection of stock merchandise I put pepper in the first place among the articles that belong to that branch of trade.

Pepper.

I put pepper in the first place because the Hon'ble Company maintains its expensive establishments on this coast for the sake of this grain.

If I were to treat of this subject from its very beginning this work would become too extensive and so I beg to refer your Worship to the letters to Batavia and home of eight years ago, because before my arrival a great change had been introduced in this trade. To indicate the connection in a few words I will here note that when the Right Worshipful Hendrik Zwaardecroon (of happy memory) was Commissary of Malabar he ordered that the pepper on this coast should be sold at a premium of 25 per cent., the produce being abundant and cash scarce, with the view that, buyers being able to secure this commodity from the Hon'ble Company at a low rate, there should be no profit left in smuggling it. But as our Hon'ble Masters [*i.e.*, the Council of the Seventeen], according to extract from Home Despatches, dated 27th July 1719 and 17th July 1722 and also 21st July 1725, considered this price too low, the premium was raised to 50 per cent. and in the year 1733 to 100 per cent.

However fully justified the raising of the price was in every respect, still it is at the same time an incontrovertible truth that the greater the premium of pepper the greater are the profits of smuggling. As soon as the Hon'ble Company fixes

the price of any stock merchandise, this price is usually seen to rise still higher in many places, and this is the case with pepper as is clear from the fact that the merchants here offered 100 per cent. premium at a time when the neighbouring factories had great difficulty in contracting at the same amount. If you were to ask me how this is possible, I could give several reasons, but I shall content myself with giving only one here. By way of example: the pepper is sold at Surat at a premium of 100 per cent.; in places far from Surat the same pepper will of course be sold still dearer by the first buyers and consequently you can easily understand that the Bombaras[1] of Purbander, Cathay and Sind can pay a premium of 125 per cent. or 150 per cent. here and still realise more profit than if they themselves went to get the pepper from Surat direct, because there they would have to buy at second or third hand and they would make no profits on their own goods which they export from their own country and on which they now realise good profits from Bombay to Cochin.

To return to the subject under discussion, as the price of pepper had been raised, it was in greater demand among the smugglers, and the amount collected by the Company began to decrease from year to year. Our endeavours to put a stop to this were by no means small but mostly to no purpose. At last we were convinced that all political and mercantile measures were vain and that no diligence on our part could check the profit-seeking merchant when he is able without danger to make more money elsewhere than with the Hon'ble Company. Then the liberty was taken to lay before their Right Worshipfuls the only two ways that still remained to restore the trade, namely either to follow the market or adopt extreme measures.

Both plans, it cannot be denied, involved very many difficulties: As for the first plan, it would have been unnecessary to conquer Malabar with so much expense and to waste so much blood and money in order to secure exclusive contracts, if we had been willing to follow the market by the side of the ordinary merchant. Moreover to follow the market is well nigh impossible because an ordinary merchant, who has to defray no expenses of any importance, is better off with 25 per cent. profit on pepper than the Hon'ble Company with 100 per cent., inasmuch as the latter has to bear the considerable burdens of so many establishments on this coast.

The second alternative, viz., to compel the Malabar rulers to observe the exclusive contracts by forcible means, is no less hazardous, because the burdens of war are certain but its result is uncertain. And even if we could be certain of a good result, it is still to be feared that these faithless rulers would not keep their word longer than they were compelled to do so by the dread inspired by the Hon'ble Company's arms; and it is not possible for the Hon'ble Company to be continually under arms here on this coast.

But if on the ground of my long stay on this coast, I were forced to give my opinion as to which of these two bad expedients deserves preference, I should be not a little embarrassed. I am convinced that one of the two plans must necessarily be adopted or the Company's investment on this coast must be withdrawn for the greatest part. Even with time there is not the slightest hope of improvement except by means of the two proposed plans. I would not answer definitely but according to times and circumstances and considering whether peace or war is probable in Europe, and how the Company's interests stand in India. No doubt sometimes it would be better to follow the market provided the Hon'ble Company can count on a profit of 100 or 75 per cent., the former in Europe and the latter in India. However should the Hon'ble Company have a great force at any time in India and occasion permit us to push the matter energetically my opinion would be that it would suffice to make ourselves completely masters of the states of Peritally and Berkencur; this would be sufficient for the Hon'ble Company together with the supplies which the other states would furnish of their own accord. I say "make ourselves completely masters," because our predecessors conquered the coast only and endeavoured to stop export by sea by numerous fortifications, but at the present day one seldom or never hears that any of this grain is carried by sea; it is now sent by land to Calicut or else across the mountains. Against this no provision could be made and, as we know too well from experience, written promises to supply pepper to the Hon'ble Company are not worth going to the smallest expense for. However the Hon'ble Company having right on her side should once for all bring those two kingdoms under her sway.

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[1] *Bombaras*: quick-sailing, one-masted native vessels; see page 218.

No doubt many objections could be raised, but if you enter on this path you will have to make up your mind and make the best of a bad bargain, as the saying is.

If the enhancement of the price of pepper should catch on and be a success, the services of the Lascorins [1] who keep watch at Cherlette and elsewhere should be dispensed with.

As regards this increase for the present year it has been so fully shown that otherwise there is not the slightest chance of securing any pepper for the Honourable Company in our recent letter addressed to our Hon'ble Masters and dated 5th November 1742, that it would be superfluous to make further mention of it here. I refer your Worship to this correspondence and also to the orders which their Right Worshipfuls have kindly issued with reference to this increase in case of necessity in their letters to Malabar, dated 29th October 1703, 22nd September 1705 and 1st October 1706. They clearly lay down that it will be better to follow the market by the side of our competitors rather than be without pepper for the necessary annual return shipment to Ceylon.

For the rest I must here mention also that passes for 100 candies of pepper are annually given to the kings of Coilan, Calicoilan and Porca if the contracts have been completed; otherwise no passes are given. They are not allowed to split up the cargo, but it must be carried to the south and not to the north with one pass and in one vessel.

The king of Cochin gets from the suppliers a toll of 40 Cochin fanams [2] for each candy of pepper of 500 lbs. In Coilan the Hon'ble Company pay 4 fanams or $1\frac{9}{32}$ rix-dollars according as they are able to agree with the kings; the same is the custom in other places, but in Chettua the suppliers pay half a rix-dollar, half for the Hon'ble Company and the other half for the Payenchery Nairs.

I am adding a note for your Worship's perusal from which you will learn how much pepper has been supplied to the Hon'ble Company since the year 1690 both in this town and in the out-factories. The same is marked No. 3 [missing].

Piece-goods.

Let us hope that the collection of piece-goods in Travancore and on the Madura Coast may be so successful as to deserve to occupy the second place.

In Travancore the collection will have to be made at Tengapatanam if peace is made and Cottate [Kottar] for Ceylon and for this commandery in accordance with the regulations laid down on this behalf by the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff, and such stuffs should be bought as will, in your Worship's judgment, find the readiest market.

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[1] *Lascorins*: word applied by the Portuguese to native soldiers in their service. When the Dutch took Cranganore from the Portuguese they brought over from Ceylon "some hundred Ceylon Lascarins or soldiers," (Schouten I, 188). Used in these records of native Christian soldiers, but distinguished from topasses or semi-assimilated native Christians and halfcastes (see page 90 below and *cf.* MS. No. 1299 where mention is made of "Lascorins or Mundukars" = Munnttikars, the 300, traditionally descendants of 300 Pulayan converts, (see Malabar District Gazetteer, 1908, page 212).

[2] The "400 Cochin fanams" in the printed Dutch transcript of this memoir is a misprint for "40 Cochin fanams". The minting of *Cochin fanams* was carried on in the Dutch town and the Dutch were associated in it with the King. A full account of the matter will be found in Canter Visscher (1717–23), Chapter XII. The King received 2 per cent. of the value of the coins and the mint master another 2 per cent. which was to cover the expense of minting. The fanam was originally a gold coin. But the Cochin fanam had very little gold in it, only 10 per cent., the remaining 90 per cent. being silver and copper in equal proportions. The metals were supplied by the Dutch Company, of course at a profit to itself. The Cochin fanam was, like other fanams, a little ball. It was worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ heavy stivers. Strutt (MS. Diary in Fort St. George records) writing in 1714 A.D. says 32 Cochin fanams were reckoned to the rix-dollar (of 48 heavy stivers) and 18 to the rupee (of 27 heavy stivers). Canter Visscher (1717–23) says 4 went to the schelling (of 6 heavy stivers). Valentijn (1726) says (IV. (1), 358) that 24 fanams went to the rix-dollar at Cochin; but he had no local knowledge and is doubtless mistaken. In accounts of the later part of the 18th century the rupee is taken as = 20 Cochin fanams = 30 stivers. As in the case of other coins the account value was however arbitrary and the market value varied; but it is pretty certain that between 18 and 20 Cochin fanams were usually worth a rupee. The Cochin fanam was probably the most debased of the many fanams current on the west coast. "*Raja*" *fanam* is the name given by both the Portuguese and the Dutch to the fanam of Quilon. In 1554 it is said to have been worth 40 reis (Nunez in 1868 edition of Correa's Lendas). Canter Visscher (1717–23) gives its value as $2\frac{1}{2}$ schellings = 15 heavy stivers. Its value in 1743 may be deduced from this passage: 4 Rajas = $1\frac{9}{32}$ rix-dollars; therefore 1 Raja = $\frac{41}{4 \times 32}$ rix-dollars $= \frac{41 \times 48}{4 \times 32}$ stivers $= \frac{123}{8}$ stivers $= \frac{123}{8} \times \frac{1}{27}$ rupees $= \frac{41}{72}$ of a rupee. In accounts of 1781 A.D. (MS. No. 1158) I find the following equivalents: 1 golden Raja fanam = $15\frac{9}{25}$ stivers and $3\frac{1}{8}$ Rajas = $1\frac{3}{5}$ rupees; which makes the rupee 30 stivers and the Raja a fraction more than half a rupee. The Raja seems to have been the most valuable of the fanams as the Cochin fanam was the least valuable. The other fanams commonly mentioned in the records are the Travancore *galleon* or *Kalyan* and the *Calicut fanam*, usually referred to simply as the "gold fanam". The first, 6 or 7 to the rupee, is the fanam of the Anjengo diaries. The second commonly reckoned at 6 stivers (Canter Visscher, MS. No. 357) and between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{4}$ to the rupee, is the fanam of the Tellicherry diaries.

Whether the free transport of cloth from Travancore is to be permitted to native traders or to be prohibited is a matter which I shall not pronounce on here. No doubt it would be desirable to prevent it if it could be prevented, but such a step would rouse great displeasure among the Malabar rulers, and therefore your Worship should await their Right Worshipfuls' orders. It is easy to prevent the transport by sea, but transport by land cannot well be prevented.

Cloths are bought up for this commandery in the Madura country also with the permission of the Ceylon administration and this has been approved by their Right Worshipfuls.

The Merchants Ezechiel and Naga Porbo supply cloths on contract through their representatives there; next they are brought to the residents of the Hon'ble Company and they have them packed up and sent, along with a proper invoice, by the Company's vessels to Cochin. In this place the cargo is handed over to the above-mentioned merchants, who have to pay 20 per cent. premium in accordance with the orders of their Right Worshipfuls contained in a secret despatch, dated 4th July 1740.

Last year the Hon'ble Company paid for those cloths, but now, at the request of the merchants and with the approval of the Ceylon administration, the merchants have been permitted themselves to make payment in order to avoid the loss which they incurred from an inexact calculation of the Madura fanam and also in order to do away with the complaints that they had sometimes to wait rather long for their money. However it will be the rather necessary that the residents should make the price known to your Worship and it should be compared with the invoices of last year to see whether all is straight on this point. If an eye is kept on this business there will be no possibility of any muddling.

Cochin chintzes are painted here within the Company's jurisdiction. In the beginning they were disposed of at a good profit at Batavia, but last year they were sold at a loss. In his report, which may be found in the second bundle of the appendices under No. 4 [missing] the Assistant Adrian Harsteede attributes this to the bad times at the said head-quarters. Your Worship should for the present stop the work, and the little which is in hand should be disposed of either here or in Persia in compliance with the express order of their Right Worshipfuls to be found in the despatch of 30th September 1742.

Cardamom.

Cardamom, of the cabessa kind, produced in the country of the king of Cottatte [Kottayam] situated in the kingdom of Colastry [the Cannanore kingdom], has long since fallen into the hands of the English at Tallicherry and of the French at Mahé, who pay such high prices for it that there is little chance for the Hon'ble Company unless the road is entirely blocked by many forts and works. Of the cardamom which is produced in these parts in the country of Coddachery Caimal and Punjatty Perumal, the Hon'ble Company secured in the year 1741, 4,050 lbs. at 70 ducats per candy of 500 lbs. but since that time the price has risen so that the Company has not been able to secure anything for that reason and also on account of the quarrels between the above named Caimals, and Punjatty Perumal was unwilling to make a cardamom contract except on condition that the Honourable Company should secure for him against good payment a small piece of land called Condasider and belonging to the Pagoda of Irnale Coddy Codavanika. Although this is a matter of small importance and the king of Cochin has been pressed about it we have not been able to succeed, because this ungrateful or rather careless ruler will not take the least trouble. However your Worship should remember this matter in case an opportunity should present itself in the course of time [1].

Cotton.

The collection of Surat and Cathay [Keti?] cotton for the use of the Madura weaving establishments, which was recommended by Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon, and again ordered by secret despatch from Batavia, dated 4th July 1740, has not

[1] The cardamom trade was of little importance to the Dutch Company both because not much of the spice was required for the European market and because it did not yield the enormous profits the Company expected on all articles in which it dealt regularly. So in 1726 (MS. No. 137) 4,650 lbs. were sent from Malabar to Holland, the invoice price was 5,832 guilders and the price realised in Holland only 7,265 guilders. 70 ducats per 500 lbs. = about 15 stivers a pound. The price in Holland seems to have varied considerably. In 1726-27 it was 32 to 34 stivers a pound according to the price lists (MS. No. 137), in 1762, 88 stivers in 1763, 54 stivers (MS. No. 745).

been possible during the last year on account of the excessively high prices due to the large export to Bengal, and the price has as yet gone down very little. However the Company's merchant Naga Porbo has undertaken to supply the 6,250 lbs. that were recently indented for, because the quantity is only a small one, the price to be the same as last year's, viz., 32 rix-dollars. No doubt a good profit will be secured on this supply because the proper price is 50 rix-dollars, but it is impossible for the administration on this coast positively to guarantee it.

Areca.

The same is the case with the areca of Malabar. Their Right Worshipfuls have ordered 6,250 lbs., to be bought on condition that suitable profits can be secured. Although the above-named merchant had undertaken to supply the same against last year's price, the order has been withdrawn for the present, because the Chinese supercargos have intimated in their letter, dated 28th November 1742, that the market for this product was very bad there and that no profits worthy of the name would be secured. This is in conformity with the express order of their Right Worshipfuls contained in the despatch of the 30th September 1742.

Sandal.

Sandalwood is purchased in the Kingdom of Canara and sent to Batavia for the China trade. I have no remark to make except that it should be possible to secure large quantities or at least so much that in future the Company's ships need not return empty to Batavia. Sandalwood has also been ordered from Coromandel and a quantity of 15,000 lbs. has been bought, or rather as much as the "Phaar Agnieta" was able to hold. But in future this must be done *viâ* Ceylon and the Coromandel administration must be requested to order early if there is any further need of this product, because it is not always possible to get it from the north.

Our officers at Barssalore [Basrur] must always be recommended to select large pieces of a yellow colour, because a kind of sandalwood is found there which is brought from Bidrur [Bednore, properly Bidurúru, Bamboo-town] and which is of a spurious sort and also costs a great deal less. The best quality called Armany [the court kind from Tamil *aranmanai* or Malayalam *aramana*] comes from Mysore, and the second quality, called Varnally, is largely exported to China.

Cowries.

Cowries are brought from the vessels which come here annually straight from the Maldives. These vessels are beginning to have a liking to sail to Calicut where these little shells can be sold with more profit. Last year we ordered a king's vessel coming from Calicut to be seized, because it is stated in our letters that those traders are not allowed to come anywhere except to this town, it being assumed that the Hon'ble Company in Ceylon had made exclusive contracts with that king; however the contrary has since been proved from the Ceylon papers, and their Right Worshipfuls having also ordered in their honoured letter of the 30th September 1742 that that vessel should be released, it was set free at once.

Still it will be permissible, if it can be done, to divert the vessels from that voyage by persuasive measures. The Hon'ble Company has, in our opinion, the power to do this on the strength of the exclusive contracts; however it cannot be denied that these refer chiefly to European countries. In the year 1736 a contract was also made with Adiraja [of Cannanore] to supply the Hon'ble Company annually with 500 catties [about 1¼ lbs. each] of cowries which are brought there from his Lekker Diva [Laccadive] Islands. In the present circumstances it has been considered useless to press him strongly to maintain his contract, but later on, as soon as circumstances permit, this must be done.

Chanks.

The Sind chanks [1], to which a detailed reference is made in our letter of the 14th of December 1733, have since also been taken to Calicut by the merchants because they could not dispose of them here. However, should the trade of the Company

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[1] Dutch: Chancossen; a chank is a large shell prized by Hindus.

again revive and should suitable articles be supplied, there is a good chance to get this sea product again brought here, provided care is taken that the importers are attended to before others, and though there will be little opportunity of sending the same to Bengal direct, it can easily be forwarded to the chief marts in India, because the ships rarely leave here with a full cargo for those places, which they usually visit about the time of the shipment to Bengal.

Curcuma [*Saffron*].

The cultivation of curcuma at Cannanore has been abandoned by order of their Right Worshipfuls, because the Honourable Company can secure abundant supplies of it in Java; but if their Right Worshipfuls should ever be pleased to ask for any again, it will not be necessary to send to Calicut for the same, but your Worship will be able to secure it of just as good a quality and much cheaper in Berkencur here, as has been shown in our respectful letter to their Right Worshipfuls, dated 30th April 1737.

Indigo.

The sample of indigo which was sent to Batavia has been found, according to the report of the indigo sorter Jan Pieter Buig, to be of very good quality. Their Right Worshipfuls have asked for a clear statement, as soon as occasion offers, showing the cost to the Hon'ble Company of each pound of that dye including all the expenses of its preparation, to see whether the desired profits can be secured. As for the cultivation of indigo, this plant grows wild all over Malabar; but in most places in no greater quantity than is required by the native for his own use. Moreover in the month of July, when the indigo begins to grow, almost all the untilled fields are being cultivated and sown with natjeny [1] and so indigo cannot grow in any great abundance, but in Calicoilan and the neighbourhood the plant is found in great quantities and the Malabaris prepare it to dye certain garments and for sale.

What I have said above made me suppose that if this plant were properly cultivated, it would thrive here as well as at Surat and on the coast [*i.e.*, the Coromandel Coast, as commonly]. So, with the consent of their Right Worshipfuls, seed was sent for from Surat; it came up well a few times but not afterwards. We have again sent for 50 lbs. of this seed from Surat, but this time it is to be sown in the Mangat country and in the land of the Anjacaimals and endeavours are to be made to continue the cultivation in earnest, but the work must be done by the natives, because it cannot be done by the Company's servants as it would be too expensive and contrary to the intentions of our Hon'ble Masters, as is clear from their honoured letter, dated 11th September 1731.

The seedlings, which were kindly forwarded with some young plants by the Right Worshipful van Imhoff, then Governor of Ceylon, were sown in the year 1737 in the Company's gardens; they sprang up as luxuriantly as ever grass can do. Afterwards some of these plants were sent to the island of Bendurty [Vandurti near Cochin], to Chettua, Paponetty, Cranganore, Varapoly, and in the south they have been divided among the headmen of the Mocquas [Mukhuvas, a fishing caste]. This should be done for one or two years more. The Company's garden produces abundance of small plants for this purpose in the months of July and August.

If this is done, the cultivation will doubtless require no further attention, only you must see to it that the dye roots are properly supplied to the Hon'ble Company. As regards the price which we fixed, following that of Ceylon, at 12 rix-dollars a bhaar of 480 lbs. but is to our thinking too low for the reason given in our recent Home letter, on arriving in Ceylon I will give your Worship further information. Just now a quantity of $113\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. of those dye roots is on the way to Ceylon per ship "Popkensburg [2]".

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[1] Natjeny: the English 18th century form is "natchnee"; *cf.* Forbes, edition of 1834, I, 251 "those who cannot afford rice, content themselves with natchnee, a grain of inferior qualtiy". Natchnce is from the Mahratta "nachani" and means what we now call ragi, the food of the lower classes in the Madras Presidency and of prisoners in the Government jails.

[2] "Bhaar" is from Sanskrit bhara, load, according to Hobson Johnson. The Dutch used the measure rather in the islands than in Malabar, where most articles were weighed by candies. The Ceylon and Batavia as well these records show that the Dutch (as might be expected from their history and national character) tried to introduce new plants wherever they went.

So far we have spoken of trade ; we shall now speak of things that are required for use and consumption.

Slaves.

It should be possible to get slaves here in a legitimate manner in abundance did not small-pox, which often rages here, make it difficult to purchase them, and although their Right Worshipfuls have asked for 500 head and the Ceylon administration for 250 head, it was not possible, according to a resolution of the 2nd of December ultimo, to comply with the requisition this voyage because very few of them would have survived. However your Worship will have to send the thirty-seven male slaves and the sixteen girls who are still in the depôt here and have most of them had small-pox, to Batavia by the "Wapen van Hoorn" or by the Surat ship "Domburg[1]."

Timber.

Timber was formerly contracted for chiefly with the merchants of Porca and Calicoilan, at thirteen Cochin fanams a tommeron[2] of the second quality. The timber was brought from the small kingdom of Pandalam situated beyond Calicoilan. But from the time this petty potentate declared himself to be an enemy of the Company and the king of Porca also would not allow anything to be transported through his country, we have been obliged to get our supply from Calicut, where it has been found to be sounder and of a better quality, but it also comes to be a good deal dearer seeing that we have to pay seventeen Cochin fanams for each tommeron. However His Highness the king of Calicoilan has promised at least one thousand southern beams next rainy season ; he adds that the number may be somewhat larger if we can see our way to raising the price a little. This request can no longer be refused, because the trees next to the river [backwater] have all been felled ; and the trees must now be brought from a distance by elephants, which involves much heavier expenses than were incurred before.

In the east of the country of Maliatura a few beams may be had occasionally, but not many.

Punatur Nambeddy also has promised to supply the Hon'ble Company with a load of timber during the next monsoon season, but we cannot rely much on this ; however he should be admonished in time to keep his promise.

With regard to the wood for masts, which is found on this coast, I refer you to the accompanying report of our sea and ship experts, dated 25th October 1742, and to be found among the supplements under No. 5 [missing]. Only I must briefly note here that although the timber which was recently sent to Batavia has been condemned by the ship building expert there, still there is no doubt that the same is perfectly suitable for ship building, witness the various neat little ships, yachts, sloops and smaller vessels which have been built here for so many years and are very durable.

The master shipwright has also certified that in his opinion the chief virtue of Malabar knee-timber consists in its hardness, and though it is rather difficult to dress, it gives no real trouble ; the same has been confirmed by the report of all the skippers who are at present here, as may be seen in the supplements under No. 6 [missing].

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[1] Slavery was not abolished by law in the Dutch possessions in the east till 1860 (Klerk de Reus page 127). When Cochin capitulated to Major Petrie in 1795 and the Dutch asked permission to take their private property including slaves with them, that officer replied with a new found virtue "Granted except with regard to slaves ; it is a name unknown in a British country" (Articles of capitulation in Logan's Treaties, p. 236). Agrestic slavery was however not abolished in British Malabar till 1843 (Act V of that year) nor in Travancore till 1855. When the census of 1842 was taken there were 159,000 slaves in British Malabar. The Dutch Company possessed both agrestic slaves, who passed to them with land acquired or conquered, and domestic and artisan slaves ; private servants were also commonly slaves. The company owned 1,273 slaves in 1694 (Klerk de Reus, p. 128) and I find from the Batavia diary of 1677 that while the European population of Batavia on the 1st of March of that year was 2,379, the slave population was no less than 17,279. The Company paid 40 to 60 dollars for a slave at the end of the 17th century. They received wages (overseer 1 dollar a month, ordinary male slaves half a dollar, etc.), besides their keep and clothes, and could buy their freedom. There was considerable legislation for the protection of slaves and the records of the company show that Europeans might be severely punished for ill-treating them. Valuable material for a history of the abolition of domestic slavery in British India will be found in a blue-book of nearly 1,000 pages ordered to be printed on the 12th of March 1828. It contains (pages 168-171) an abstract of the Dutch regulations on the subject.

[2] Tommeron : 1 candy = 4 tommerons = 24 cobidos = 576 borels (MS. No. 772). The modern Travancore candy = 24 tuvadas = about 13 cubic feet. Borei = viral, finger, inch. *Cf.* page 202 below.

Lime and Bricks.

In our letter of the 21st March 1742 we pointed out to their Right Worshipfuls, as in duty bound, the bad quality of the lime and bricks which are supplied to the Hon'ble Company on account of the small price paid, viz., 9 fanams for a candy of 500 lbs. of lime and 28 fanams for 100¾ cobidos [Portuguese covado] of bricks; accordingly their Right Worshipfuls have been so good as to sanction a moderate increase of price according as necessity requires by their honoured secret letter of the 11th August ultimo, and a contract has been made with the Rajadore of Ailur, Mangalapally Ikoren, and with Parachely Pannical of Peremangalam at 32 Cochin fanams, and for this price they at present supply good bricks. The foreman of the wood-yard and the foreman of the bricklayers must sign the orders for payment, vouching for the quality. The price of lime has been increased from nine to twelve fanams on condition that it must be thoroughly burnt and pure. This increase has been thought unnecessary in Chettua because everything round about there is cheap, and it is chiefly the high prices of food stuffs in this town which have made the increase necessary. As the bricks that come from Peremangalam are of a still better quality than those from Ailur your Worship should endeavour to keep a large quantity of them always in stock to avoid difficulties should this or that repair have to be done quickly. I have given orders to stow away the bricks in future under a shed, because I found that owing to the heavy rains they fell off both in quantity and quality.

Rice.

The kingdom of Canara exports rice in great abundance and furnishes therewith many European and other nations. Hence the price has risen from 10¼ to 24 Ikkeri pagodas [1].

The worst is that we must snatch this grain so to speak from the fire; one ship by itself runs very great danger at the hands of the Angria pirates; so it has been resolved that the "Wapen van Hoorn" should be convoyed by the galley "Victoria" and this will have to be always done in future in order to avoid mishaps, at least as long as those pirates make the sea unsafe.

It should be possible to secure some rice round about here, but it will not keep at all and must be consumed at once. Now and again we use this rice in order to save our stock when it is low. The rice that is bought here is procured little by little. In the middle of this month there were in this town and in the out-agencies 333 lasts [tons] of rice and 48 lasts of paddy:—

		Rice	Paddy.
At Cochin	Lasts	250	20
" Coilan	"	33	..
" Chettua	"	21	22
" Cranganore	"	2	..
" Cannanore	"	23	6
" Radeatty	"	1	..
" Porottu	"	2	..

besides 200 lasts of rice brought from Barsalore by the "Wapen van Hoorn," and again to this quantity will be added a couple of hundred lasts of paddy expected from the Province (Paponetty).

Coir.

Coir which is used to make anchor and other ropes is fetched from the lands of Paru [Parur]. For the fine quality 6½ rix-dollars [12 rupees] a candy are paid and for the coarse kind 4½ rix-dollars. In the south round about Coilan coir suitable for common use is produced and your Worship should occasionally order some of it in order to lessen the price of it here somewhat; but for rope-making it is not so good, because the fibre is very loose and the threads are uneven and the coarse kind is mixed with much stubble. The Cochin coir on the other hand is well-woven, close and of a good thread; in former times their Right Worshipfuls used to indent for much rope and cable from here, but now it is ordered from Ceylon.

[1] Say, Rs. 35 to Rs. 84 per last of 3,000 Dutch pounds. See page 63 above.

The Maldive coir is the best of all, but somewhat expensive.

Fuses.

Fuses were formerly made in Calicoilan, but last year when that territory fell into the hands of the enemy. we had them prepared here and the same have been found as good as the former, the price being as usual 16 rix-dollars per hundred bundles.

Hides.

Malabar supplies hides in abundance for Ceylon for packing cinnamon and for the armoury here. All the officers at the subordinate factories must be reminded from time to time not in any way to neglect the supply of them. We pay one rix-dollar for a corgie [score] of twenty pieces.

Cocoanut oil.

The Kingdom of Cochin furnishes cocoanut oil in large quantities, but, as the neighbouring territories are not so well supplied with it, such large quantities are exported that we sometimes pay 38 fanams for a chodena of six kans [1]. But since we resolved never to pay more than one rix-dollar for 10 kans on behalf of the Company, exportation has been prohibited both by sea and by river to Cranganore in the north and in the south to Cheremagalam and Calicoilan Bichur, with the result that the supplier is able to provide this quantity without loss; the King has even promised always to supply the Hon'ble Company with the necessary oil at that price provided export remains free, but very little faith can be placed in his promises.

Salt.

Salt is at present manufactured in sufficient quantities in Bendurty [Island Vandurti] and several other places; so there is no need to import any from outside.

Charcoal and firewood.

Charcoal is burnt in Province Paponetty by charcoal-burner Hendrik Claasz: this is of great convenience for the Company's service as our coal is far from sufficient for the work at the smithy, for shipbuilding and other things. Charcoal costs the Hon'ble company 7½ light stivers a parra [about half a rupee a cwt.] paid in cooly wage. Firewood is cut round about Cranganore. We pay 3 rix-dollars a pile, a pile being three fathoms [2]. It is then brought here across the backwater in gamels [3]. Your Worship should take care always to have at least 50 piles in stock.

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[1] The old Kan or quart in use in the East Indies = 1·5751 litres (Encyclopædie van Nederl-Indie). The Cochin kan may be the old Portuguese "Canada" of which 6 were reckoned to the chodena of 8·4 litres at Cochin in 1554 (Nunez).

[2] The old Amsterdam vadem or fathom in use in the East Indies for measuring wood, etc. = 1·698798 metres (Encyclopædie van Nederl-Indie).

[3] Gamels were a kind of galley, see p. 87.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMPANY'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

We now come to the Company's domestic affairs and in the first place :

The True Religion.

The Reverend Preacher Johannes Seherius is in charge of the religious ministrations on this coast. To my sincere regret I must confess that the Reformed Doctrine has made little progress in spite of all careful forethought and the regulations concerning schools and education of children and the instructions regarding the penetration of popish superstitions. Not to speak of the recklessness and indifference of men in an affair upon which their eternal welfare or ill-fare depends, almost all the children of our European employees married to Catholic wives are brought up in the Roman Faith. Not the slightest improvement can be expected unless church and schools are provided with edifying and efficient teachers who understand the Portuguese language. Though attempts were made to provide for the children by causing them to learn Dutch it was found that the quickest of them after many years of much labour and trouble could only be got so far as to recite something by heart without properly understanding it or being able to listen to discourses with any profit. The state of affairs is the more regrettable inasmuch as I have not the smallest hope of a change for the better, except in the above-mentioned means; for what can the zeal of a reformed Preacher, whom nobody can understand, do to combat the bustle of the thousand Roman priests on this coast, who are perfectly equipped with the necessary knowledge of the languages ?

However it cannot be said that our work in this matter has been altogether fruitless. Your Worship should take a keen interest in the propagation of God's pure doctrine in the hope that the Almighty may raise up able and zealous men to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord and to work with profit therein. Whatever we have done in this respect may be found in our successive resolutions and letters. It would be well if your Worship were to have extracts collected and bound together in a separate bundle for your Worship's consideration. The long wars have prevented us executing our good intentions in this regard. In a secret letter, dated 11th August 1742, your Worship will find how far our doings in this matter have been approved by their Right Worshipfuls.

Court of Justice.

Justice was pretty irregularly administered when I arrived here. The Court of Justice has now been provided with good books, among others the Ceylon Blaffert [1] kindly sent to us from that island by the Right Worshipful van Imhoff. Moreover all extracts from political Council Resolutions and Home and Batavia letters are now communicated to the Court of Justice, and are bound together and properly indexed. By this the work of the members of this court is not a little lightened, if they will only take the trouble to go through the papers diligently.

All sentences not subject to revision or appeal must be confirmed by the Commandeur acting alone, because the members of the Political Council also sit in the Court of Justice. If the Commandeur is of opinion that there has been a manifest miscarriage of justice, or that a sentence is contrary to law and the custom of the country, he may stay execution and communicate his objections, at the first opportunity, to the Supreme Government for the necessary orders.

The Political Council.

The Political Council constitutes the governing body. It comprises the Chief of the Settlements, the Second, one Captain and six Under Merchants. The chiefs of the out-settlements when present in this town are also given a seat in Council, provided

[1] A "blaffert" (misprinted "Blappert" in the Dutch original in this series) is a list or register ; here probably of a collection of Batavia ordinances, etc.

that there must not be more than nine votes, the remaining members sitting only in an advisory capacity. All matters of any importance are dealt with in this Council and are settled by majority of votes.

In accordance with instructions, dated the 7th September 1740, Under-Merchants take precedence of skippers and lieutenants. They take their seats not according to seniority in their grade, but according to the date of their appointment to the Council.

Court of Orphans.

This court is presided over by the Captain and consists of nine members, who are taken partly from the members of the Political Council, the other members being selected from among the best of the remaining employees of the Company.

Inasmuch as the Captain is often away on deputation, expeditions and otherwise it was resolved on the 8th of November ultimo that the presiding member must see that the affairs of this court are not neglected.

Court of Petty and Matrimonial Affairs.

The Commissioners of petty and matrimonial affairs have also a member of Council for their President. They have power to decide finally small causes which do not involve more than a hundred rix-dollars. If this limit is exceeded an appeal lies to the Court of Justice in this town.

The Ward and Fire Committee.

The fiscal is always President of the Ward and Fire Commissioners, whom Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon, by resolution, dated 26th June 1697, formed into a Committee and provided with a suitable Code of Regulations.

The Church Committee.

The Church Committee consists of the Preacher, of two Elders and four Deacons. When the Political Commissioner is present—this office is held by the Upper Merchant[1] if he be a member of the Committee, but if he is not a member or if he is of a different persuasion it is held by the Captain or by the member next in order in the Political Council—the Commitee must report to your Worship whatever has been decided at the Church meeting in so far as the administration is affected; but the said Commissioner will not be present at any Church meeting at which a "Censura morum" of the members of the community is held.

The Scholarchs.

The Scholarchs, being the Reverend the Preacher and a member of our Council, examine the Protestant school-children, including the orphans, every six months and submit a report in writing. In accordance with a resolution of the 7th instant the examination will take place once a year in the presence of the Commandeur and Council and in order to encourage the pupils the more a bible will be given as a prize to one of each sex who distinguishes himself most.

The Orphanage.

The non-resident directresses of the Reformed Orphanage (the duties of which post your Worship's lady has kindly undertaken together with the wife of Under Merchant and Chief Warehouse-keeper François Terburg) see to the girls there being properly brought up. The present resident matron, Maria Stevens, widow of Corporal Warnar Schouten, is specially well qualified for the work and her services should therefore be retained. We had to dismiss the former matron, widow of Sergeant Meulman, on the reiterated and well-founded complaints of the Deacons. She had

[1] The "Upper Merchant" here means the Second-in-Council, the only member of the Politico-Commercial service at Cochin of that grade.

neglected the care of the children in a scandalous manner and had endeavoured to enrich herself from their poverty. The boys remain under the supervision of the Brother Deacons though the Deacons may well have need of occasional supervision themselves on account of their youth and inexperience, and so it might not be altogether a bad thing to employ two members of council also in that work. Meanwhile I commend to your Worship's care the maintenance of the various good regulations which have been made about this Home, of which not the least important is that the children may not leave it without first making their confession of faith; since it is shameful to find that for many years past most of the inmates have left without having been properly instructed and have immediately gone over from the Reformed Religion to the Romish false teaching. Those who openly profess the latter have been debited with the cost of all that they enjoyed in the orphanage; which makes the rest of them, if not better, at least more careful.

The Deacons.

The same is the case with most of the people maintained by the Deacons. They are seldom or never seen in our church. For this reason it was resolved in Council on the 7th and 30th of last January that if these people will not listen to warnings and if they are not prevented by legitimate causes from frequenting the church, support will be withdrawn from them as being entirely unworthy of it.

The capital of the Deacons was at the end of last December 14,697¼ rix-dollars besides 8,563$\frac{13}{32}$ rix-dollars more which they have given out to different people, who are still alive. The revenue of the Deacons has been reduced not a little by our having had to decide to suppress one collecting bag which was handed round in church.

Leper Asylum.

The capital of the Leper Asylum at Paliport having come down to 2,913·29 rix-dollars, we have been obliged to have recourse to the following measure, and with the kind approval of their Right Worshipfuls have imposed a surcharge of 50 *per cent.* on stamped paper, which however according to rough calculations will not bring in more than 59½ rix-dollars; otherwise these unhappy people would soon have become a burden on the Hon'ble Company. At the end of last January they were eleven in number [1].

Garrison.

The garrisons in time of peace have been fixed by their Worships at 678, viz., 300 at Cochin, 99 at Coilan, 56 at Cranganore, 144 at Chettua and 79 at Cannanore. These numbers would be small enough if we were not allowed to have recourse to Ceylon in case of embarrassment as happened in the year 1739, when 158 Europeans and 191 "Orientals" [Malays] were sent by the kindness of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff; with which reinforcement we were successful in two campaigns against Travancore and

[1] The Asylum was erected in 1728 A.D. as an inscription still preserved testifies. Papers of 1725–26 in MS. No. 148, refer to plans for it, one of 30 rooms (besides the Surgeon's residence) to cost 5,000 dollars, another with 22 rooms to cost 4,300. An asylum was previously maintained at Castello. The site of the new asylum was that of the old Portuguese fortress at Palliport near the north end of the island of Vypeen looking on the backwater. It had passed to the Dutch with other Portuguese *enclaves* when they took Cochin in 1663. From a reference in Jarricus' Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum (II, 225), 1615, it appears that the site, formerly that of a "Saracen" pirate stronghold was granted to the Portuguese by the King of Cochin in 1600 as a reward for driving out the pirates. The Portuguese built a College there which seems (according to Portuguese custom) to have served also as a fortress. The Dutch found a garrison at Palliport in 1661 when they marched along Vypeen to the attack of Cochin. Something of the old Portuguese fortress may still be preserved in the asylum buildings, which exist to this day. They are of stone and the walls are some four feet thick. In the year 1789 when the Dutch sold several *enclaves* to Travancore, they specially excepted "the leper house at the Palliport with its out-buildings, gardens and other land thereto appertaining" (deed of cession in Resolution dated 29th July 1789 in MS. No. 1320). The *enclave* (9 acres in extent) passed to the British in 1795 when they took Cochin from the Dutch. It is bounded by Travancore territory on the North, West and East (land sold by the Dutch to Travancore) and by Cochin territory on the South and there is no other British territory except Cochin town (also a Dutch legacy) within 60 miles. In the annual report for 1868 of the Civil Surgeon in charge of the Asylum it is stated that the high walls forming the enclosure beyond which it was forbidden for lepers to wander and which gave place the appearance of a prison were being removed, but otherwise the buildings seem to be those of 1728 A.D. Some fifty lepers are now maintained in the Asylum.

Berkencur[1]; but later on as we were losing men continually without receiving any appreciable reinforcements, we were forced to yield to the superior power of the enemy, to leave him master of the field and to shut ourselves up in our fortifications, which are at present in good condition here on the coast and only require keeping in repair. At Quilon, according to the plan of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff, the broken curtain between the bastions Malabar and Ceylon should be built up again strong and solid and the first of these bastions should be provided with the necessary cannon.

The lining with palisades of the sea front where the water encroaches steadily has not been proceeded with yet owing to want of beams. This work however cannot be delayed any longer since the heavy surf eats away the foreshore every year. Your Worship should cause as many of the beams which have been contracted for with the southern merchants as are required for the work to be sent to Quilon and should then send to Calicut for your Worship's ship-building supply.

Fortifications and Works.

The fortifications in this town are also in perfect condition if you except the wall between bastions Stroomburg and Overyssel, which was built as a blind wall 956 feet long and two bricks in breadth; near the first named bastion it was leaning right over for a length of 156 cobidos [ells]; this portion I had broken right down and rebuilt in the form of a heavy brick wall, the foundation being $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and the top 9 feet.

With regard to the remaining portion of the wall your Worship will have to await orders from their Right Worshipfuls. Although it is still standing and looks well enough it is to be feared that in a short time it will go the same way. My humble opinion is that you should not wait till the wall falls in of itself but should

[1] The diary of the first campaign (18th October 1739 to 8th June 1740) is in the Madras Records and is being published The Dutch took up arms on behalf of the King of Cayanculam and Quilon, who was attacked by Travancore. The Travancore lines around Quilon were stormed on the 12th of November 1739 and sixteen guns taken with a loss of only 12 wounded on the Dutch side. There was a slight skirmish at Attur on the 25th January 1740. On the 20th of February there were further skirmishes at the passage of the Attinga river and in an attack on the Attinga palace. At the first of these skirmishes the King of Cayanculam's 8,000 Nairs were reduced to less than 4,000, the rest flying; at the second to 800 and the king tried to cut his own throat for shame but was stopped. The Dutch casualties were few (40), but they retreated. The enemy's country was plundered and burnt in the course of the campaign, but otherwise little seems to have been effected. By "Orientals" (Oosterlinge) are meant here as elsewhere Malays. Macassars, Bouginese, etc., are mentioned in the diary. The diary of the next campaign has not been preserved, but something may be gathered from the volumes of Letters to Batavia, Letters from Quilon, etc. Towards the end of the year 1740 a campaign was conducted in Berkencur with the result that the enemy were beaten in several encounters and driven out of that territory and the Dutch occupied it with four strongholds, "through which we are complete masters of that Kingdom" (Letter to Batavia, dated 8th of January 1741, in MS. No. 335). On the 22nd of November 1740 a small reinforcement of 105 men arrived from Ceylon, on the 27th, 70 more. In January 1741 Colachel in Travancore was occupied with the view of attacking Travancore in his own country (Letter from ship "Marseveen" in MS. No. 317). The idea was to seize the whole country from Colachel to Cape Comorin (where the Dutch had a sub-factory dependent on Tuticorin and at this time a fort and garrison) and make a Dutch province of it "as it is the most beautiful district in Malabar and all the Cloth places are there" (Secret Letter to Batavia, dated 12th of May 1741, in MS. No. 335). It was then still hoped that in spite of the war in Java (described in the introduction) the Company might be able to send troops from Batavia for the reduction of Travancore; Anjicaimal (the Ernakulam district opposite Cochin) and Marta (a small kingdom near Quilon) were also to be annexed and Berkencur, whose king had been declared a "rebel" by the Dutch, was to be retained. These plans came to nothing. In May 1741, the whole field force of the Dutch consisted of 350 Europeans and 400 Malays and only 400 to 500 men could be actually employed in the field. No reinforcements seem to have arrived in 1741, and in the next campaign the Dutch were soon reduced to the defensive. In August 1741, their small garrison at Colachel was attacked by Travancore and surrendered on the 7th, a red hot ball having fired a barrel of gun powder and caused a conflagration in the stockade in which the whole of the rice supply was consumed (Letters from Quilon of 15th August and 9th October in MS No. 317). This is the incident to which a prominent place is given under the title of the victory of Colachel in Shungoony Menon's and other histories of Travancore. In October 1741, I find the Malabar administration reporting (Secret Letter to Batavia, dated 26th of October 1741, in MS. No. 335) that the news of the Company's troubles in Java had been industriously spread throughout Malabar by the Company's European rivals and by the King of Travancore and that the Native chiefs thought the time had come "to shake off the Company's heavy yoke and drive it from the Coast." The Cochin administration had not been able to get reinforcements even from Ceylon to whom they had applied for 200 Europeans and 200 Malays, the Governor in Council of Ceylon not being able to spare any troops and "what makes the danger even greater is that Travancore has appointed the deserter, Sergeant Duyvenschot, to be General over his troops" There were "according to our calculations between 300 and 400 of our men in the service of the enemy." The administration proposed to engage "some thousand men from the Pandy country, these being the best fighting men in Malabar," and to enlist all young topasses and lascorins, their disciplined forces being now reduced to 250 Europeans and 3 to 400 Malays. But without reinforcements of disciplined men they could undertake nothing in the field. The demands of the Malabar administration for European troops from Batavia became more and more pressing (Letters to Batavia of 17th April and 19th May 1742, in MS. No. 335) and they began to contemplate the necessity of "spending the last drop of their blood," in defence of Quilon and Cochin. They asked for at least 2,000 troops for the Travancore war and if the Zamorin also attacked them, as seemed not unlikely, for 5,000, and however deeply engaged the Company might be in Java, they insisted that they must have 500 Europeans at least at once merely for garrison duty. The news from Java had deprived the Company of all its prestige in Malabar Berkencur, which had been conquered in the preceding campaign, had been evacuated and the few remaining troops were concentrated in the garrisons In July 1742, the Dutch were actually besieged in their strong fortress of Quilon and Travancore, on Duyvenschot's advice, made various attempts to storm it, in which he is said, according to the Dutch accounts, to have lost 6,000 to 9 000 men (Letter to Batavia, dated 3rd of August 1742, in MS. No. 335). About this time news arrived that the new Dutch Governor-General, Van Imhoff, was on his way to the east with a large fleet and Travancore entered into negotiations for peace with the Dutch who, with Van Imhoff's approval were willing to treat, reserving their ambitious schemes for the more favourable occasion which was never to occur.

complete the work in the same way as I have begun it, at least as far as the river gate. In order to divide up the expenditure somewhat the work may be done in the course of three or four years. Since the collapse of the wall is due entirely to the narrowness of the strip of ground on which it is built between the river and the Slotendyk ditch (inner fosse) it is most necessary to place planks between the masonry lining and the palisade to stop the action of the water which oozes through and gradually carries away the earth.

At Cranganore too all is well except the large gate of the out-works, which has sunk a little, but seeing that the same is not of the slightest use or advantage, there will be no need to spend anything on it.

The fortress at Chettua is without defect as also that at Cannanore, they both having been entirely renewed in my time. Their Right Worshipfuls have issued orders not to break down the old works, until I should have inspected them personally. Owing to the war and other urgent business I have not been able to do so and you will have to await whatever further orders their Right Worshipfuls may be pleased to issue. As for the Residencies on this coast, the one at Tengapatnam is a small mud building worth nothing, which has been broken down by the enemy. We must try to stipulate in the terms of peace that the enemy must replace the building at their own expense. In the recent conferences held at Mavilcarre they did not seem to raise any serious objection to this proposal. The brick storehouse at Peza has remained intact if the reports can be believed. The "Lodge [1]" at Calicoilan has also been destroyed for the greatest part. You will have to await their Worshipfuls' orders before repairing the building. By letter, dated 5th November ultimo, we have made a proposal to construct an ola [palm-leaf] dwelling-house and warehouse on the shore near Great Aivika because the "Lodge" is too far inland and the pepper has to be carried to the ships with great trouble and expense. The brick "Lodge" at Porca was built as recently as 1736 and is without the smallest defect.

The Residency at Panany [Ponnani] is made of mud and must be rethatched every year with new olas. In the terms of peace of 1717, article 9, it was stipulated that the same was to be covered with tiles. However, the Zamorin has never consented to it. In view of the constant expenses the present state of affairs is objectionable; in other respects the matter is of little importance since the only use of the new residency there is to watch the wiles of the Court of the Zamorin. In the harbour of Condapur at Barsalore the Hon'ble Company has surrounded the "Lodge" and the warehouse with a wall, which however is getting old and ruinous.

Your Worship has no power to erect new wooden buildings without the express consent of their Right Worshipfuls, but as far as I know there is no need for any here on this coast except a new gun-powder magazine at Coilan. The cost of this building, viz., 4,343-1-8 guilders according to the estimate of our building expert, is being reported to Batavia under express orders. This building is most necessary not only because the powder gets spoilt every year in the damp cellar, but is very dangerously placed there as being under the guard-post of bastion Ceylon and provided with a flooring of common planks. As the matter did not admit of further delay we have fitted the loft above the hall of the chief's house for the purpose, but in time of war this would be of no use, not to speak of elevated places being more exposed to lightning. And so let us hope that their Right Worshipfuls may kindly sanction this urgent work.

Of repairs which require undertaking you will find plenty everywhere with so many fortifications, "lodges" and buildings. Still in my opinion 24 carpenters and 10 bricklayers will be sufficient in future in the town here. This number can always be increased if necessary from among Topass workmen, who may be had here in large numbers for one schelling (six stivers or pence) a day. The work at the church is practically finished. A new floor will be required in the large hall of the Commandeur's house, as the old one is quite rotten and decayed according to the report of the Superintendent and the Foreman of the house carpenters, dated 28th December ulto.

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[1] "Logie" is used to denote unfortified as opposed to fortified factories. "Logie" and the verb "logeeren" are used of residences of the factors of the Dutch Company in the earliest records of the Company (first years of the 17th century). The French afterwards borrowed the word, which does not appear to occur in the French language in this particular sense till the time of Voltaire and Raynal, back again from the Dutch; and French "loges," interesting historical survivals, still exist at Surat, Calicut, Masulipatam, etc. The equivalent in the English Company's records is "house".

Yachts, sloops and smaller vessels for the use of this Commandery and for other settlements are constructed here firm and strong. Their Right Worshipfuls have sanctioned by letter dated 19th October 173 [...] the construction of a new yacht in the place of the "Magdalena" taken by the Angria pirates, and again by their esteemed letter of the 2nd October 1740 they have sanctioned the building not only of a sloop for this Commandery but of a second sloop which will come in useful in order to keep our workmen engaged. Herewith is added a report *sub* No. 7 [missing] for your Worship's consideration on all rowing boats and sailing vessels to be found in this town showing when they were built and in what condition they are now.

Seeing that no more building is required at the out-settlements the number of vessels may well be diminished with no small relief in the heavy burdens which press with special severity on this Commandery.

Seamen.

Seafaring men are always scarce here and sometimes it is difficult to find the necessary Bosschieters (ship's musketeers), but as we must make a virtue of necessity we have provided the boats with coolies of the muqua [Mukkuva, a fishing caste] caste under a quartermaster. They have become so skilled now that we can dispense with European sailors on the boats, while on the yachts and sloops we place the few seamen at our disposal, in part Moors and Topasses who live round about here and who begin to learn creditably. In this way we paddle with the oars we have, the work is done pretty satisfactorily and the expenditure is greatly reduced. For this reason your Worship's aim should be to make the natives more and more fit for this service. The scale of pay is only

2 rix-dollars each cooly and $3\frac{1}{8}$ rix-dollars Topass and Moor.

With the permission of their Right Worshipfuls your Worship should increase by a little the pay of those who give most satisfaction, to encourage the men and prevent them joining the service of other European nations who already tempt them very greatly by promising better pay.

Indents.

Indents for merchandise, cash, provisions, and other necessaries must be drawn up with careful consideration, approved in Council, and despatched in good time in quadruplicate to Batavia.

When home indents are executed mention must not be omitted of the time when the same were received here in accordance with express desire of our Right Worshipful Masters [the Seventeen], contained in extract from the indent of return freights from India for the year 1741.

Presents.

Presents must not be given unless they have been judged necessary by the Council of Malabar and moreover the esteemed sanction of their Right Worshipfuls must be sought. The customary presents which are given to rulers and merchants annually or on certain occasions must neither be increased, nor decreased, but you go by precedent except when the interests of the Company absolutely demand a change, in which case their Right Worshipfuls have ordered that we need not stand on a trifle. However, as has been said, the same must be declared necessary and sanctioned in Council. By letter, dated 7th September 1740, their Right Worshipfuls have also been pleased to order on my proposal that the presents given to rulers and to merchants on the occasion of the renewal of the pepper contracts must not be given until after the contracts have been carried out.

Coinage.

The money formerly circulating on this coast consisted of ducats and Cochin fanams, but as our Hon'ble Masters have been pleased to resolve not to send the former gold coin any longer to this coast, their Right Worshipfuls have provided us with 103,872 Spanish reals which are issued without difficulty at the rate of 10 schellings each, but according to recent orders from their Right Worshipfuls must

for the present not be received at more than 9 schellings each. However it is hardly likely that they will be brought to the Honourable Company at that rate because the trader's loss would be too great and for the present at least he can dispose of them elsewhere. By letter, dated 11th August, we have also been authorised to indent for the necessary pagodas from Ceylon. The Porto Novo pagodas sent to us from Ceylon are in great demand and are issued without difficulty at 2 rix-dollars; but the merchants confess that they would like Nagapatnam (Negapatam) and Paliacat (Pulicat) pagodas better still. With regard to this specie we have explained ourselves at great length in our recent home letter of the 5th of November 1742.[1]

The fanam mint of the King of Cochin was transferred to the town in former times with a good object, viz., that we might not be constantly in difficulties for want of fanams, but still more to prevent the fanams being counterfeited, and with the desired result so far.

The Mint.

The Mint Masters are appointed by the King [of Cochin, and the Honourable Company has its own representatives there. In the appendix under No. 8 [missing] your Worship will find what the composition of these coins is, and no alteration may be made in this respect.

The Buseruk mint must be set going every time there is a deficiency of small coins and for this purpose as much lead and tin as may be necessary must be kept in the warehouse. The different denominations will be found enumerated in the report No. 9 [missing].[2]

The supply of gunpowder at the end of August amounted to:

			LBS.
in this town			63,887
in the fortress of	Coilan		29,950
,,	,,	Cannanore	11,433
,,	,,	Chettua	17,915
,,	,,	Cranganore	12,605
		Total	135,790
To this has since been added amount imported by ship "Popkensburg" from Batavia			50,000
		Grand Total	185,790

[1] Porto Novo, Negapatam, Pulicat were factories in the most important of the groups of Dutch Settlements on the main land of India. The group included also Devapatnam (Cuddalore), Sadras, Masulipatam, Palcole Draksharama, Bimlipatam, and at one time Golconda and Nagulavamsa on the way from Masulipatam to Golconda (see Havart, Valentijn, etc.). They constituted a Governorship with headquarters first at Pulicat, then at Negapatam. A schelling is 6 stivers or roughly six pence sterling. *Reals* are the Spanish reals of eight, or silver dollars. When the Dutch first came East they found "trade conducted with reals of eight, halves and quarters which the Portuguese having first enjoyed commerce and navigation in those lands have made known" (Resolution of States of Holland, dated 1st March 1601). In 1652 their value in the East was fixed at 50 stivers (Plakkaat, dated 21st May 1652), but this seems to have been below the real value, a Plakkaat of the 27th May 1656 fixing the value of rix-dollars and reals ("meaning genuine Seville and Mexican but not Peruvian nor Java reals") at 60 stivers. The real was at first the standard coin. It gave way to the rix-dollar, a silver dollar minted in different provinces in Holland instead of in Spain and its possessions. The rix-dollar (48 stivers in the 18th century) in turn gave way to the rupee or Indian standard coin, which was worth 25 to 30 stivers. The *ducat* was the European, while the *pagoda* was the Indian, standard gold coin. They were of much the same weight, something less than half the weight of a sovereign. The usual value of the pagoda was about 3½ rupees, of the ducat about 4 rupees, of the English pound sterling 8 rupees.

[2] *Buseruk.*—English budgrook, Portuguese bazaruco, meaning possibly bazaar money. *Cf.* the following passage from Canter Visscher (1723), Letter XII. "Buseruks are a mixture of lead and tin melted together and bearing on one side the arms of the Company and on the other a figure resembling a harp. They are smelted in moulds, several being stuck together at the side and then cut separate. Sixty of them are equivalent to a Cochin fanam or one stiver and a half, so that if a man were to reckon his capital in this coin he would find himself the possessor of some hundreds of thousands. The Cochin fanams are the common money of that kingdom made use of both by the merchant and by the Company, which pays its servants salaries in this coin. The right of coining fanams appertains to the king of Cochin as supreme authority in the country: but these monarchs are apt to be defrauded by those whom they appoint to strike the coins and the metal has been found to be adulterated both in the assay and composition; consequently the Company have persuaded the king to allow the coinage to take place in the city, reserving to himself the appointment of the mint masters and having his own mark stamped upon the coin, but placing all under the supervision of the Dutch Commandeur who sends commissioners to watch the striking, mixing and assaying of the fanams and to see that they have their due weight and value. There is always a deduction of 4 per cent., two for the king and two for the master of the mint, who pays all the expenses incurred in the coinage. These fanams are composed of gold, silver and copper, 10 lbs. of the metal being made up of 1 lb. of fine gold of the highest test, 4½ lbs. of fine silver and 4½ lbs. of fine Japan copper. This mixture being melted down is then moulded into little balls of the proper weight, and beaten flat with a stamp having certain Malabar characters on either side. The coin is small and very inconvenient to handle. The Company derive a profit from this coinage as supplying the gold, silver and copper material." (Drury's translation.) This Cochin fanam was locally known as the "putten" or new fanam. Specimens may still be seen. The rough value of the putten was a penny half penny sterling, of the budgrook one-tenth of a farthing.

Gunpowder.

Your Worship will have to obtain future supplies of gunpowder from Batavia, inasmuch as Ceylon has herself run short of that commodity. We do not send our spoilt gunpowder any longer to Ceylon to be made up again, because the Jewish gunpowder makers do that work here even better; at present they have in hand 3,100 lbs. of gunpowder recently imported from Coilan which had lost all its strength.

Provisions.

The Jews bring in provisions from Anjicaimal [Ernaculam district], Repolim [Edapalli] and Paro [Parur]. The sea provides us with abundance of fish, but it cannot be said that provisions are as cheap as in former days; on the contrary the difference is surprising. Formerly the price of victuals was fixed by the Civil Council [Court of Small Causes] every six months and I have several times endeavoured to re-introduce this excellent custom, but I had to give up the idea for fear we should be starved to death. However export of provisions should be prevented as far as possible.

Drinking Water.

Drinking water is fetched with "gamels" in casks from Feradalva [Alwaye]; to the great comfort of the Company's servants; for since this has been done, little has been heard of such gross diseases as Europeans were formerly subject to here so long as they had to drink the brackish water from the wells. Your Worship must take care that no improper use is made of the water and that it is not supplied except to those entitled to it. Otherwise the cooly-wages would run up too high; at the same time I think that sufficient precautions have been taken against this by the new regulations which we made at the meeting of the 7th January ultimo with regard to wages, provided they are properly observed, which your Worship should see to.[1]

Meat and Bacon.

Meat and bacon are kept in stock here in the town as well as in the other fortresses to be used in case of need. Good care should be taken that they do not go bad. The stock should be inspected every six months by officers who understand the matter and if necessary it should be given fresh pickle. The oldest stock may be supplied to the ships even though they are not in want of it; on condition however that it is still good and fit for use; it is our Right Worshipful Masters' desire that it should not be given out in rations in any other case, but should be thrown into the sea in order of time as will be seen from their esteemed letter to Malabar of this 22nd October 1699. It must be clearly understood that this is only when the provisions have gone bad without any one's fault and only by having been kept too long; otherwise the persons responsible will have to make up the amount. At the same time there is little occasion to distribute these provisions as we have been expressly forbidden to

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[1] *Gamels* are small galleys, which could be used as war galleys in the backwater. The following passages from Hamilton's New Account may be compared :—

(1) New Account, 1739, I. 326. "The Dutch at Cochin to prevent that Malady (elephantiasis), send Boats daily "to Verapoli, to lade with small portable casks of 10 to 12 English gallons, to serve the City. The Company's servants "have their water free of charges, but private persons pay six pence per cask, if it is brought to their Houses; and yet, "for all that Precaution, I have seen both Dutch Men and Women troubled with that Malady."

(2) New Account, 1739, I. 324: "About 2 Leagues farther up (than Verapoli) towards the Mountains, on the side of "a small but deep River, is a place called *Firdalgo*, where the inhabitants of Cochin generally assemble to refresh them-"selves in the troublesome hot Months of April and May. The Banks and Bottom of the River is clean sand, and the "water so clear, that a small Peeble Stone may be seen at the Bottom in three Fathoms water. Every Company "makes choice of a Place by the River's side, and pitch their Tents, and drive some small stakes before their Tents, in "the River, on which they hang up clothes for Blinds, to hide the Ladies when they bathe; but most of them swim "dextrously, and swim under water through the Stakes into the open River, where the Men are diverting themselves, "and there they dive, and play many comical mad tricks, till Breakfast or Supper call them ashore, for it is Mornings and "Evenings that they bathe and swim; for in the heat of the day the sun scorches. Very often the ladies lay wagers of "treats with the Gentlemen, about their swiftness and dexterity in swimming, but generally the ladies win the "wagers, though, I believe, if the Men would use their art and strength, they might win the Prize. The heat of "the day they pass with a Game at cards or Tables for treats, by which means they fare sumptuously every day some "times in one tent and sometimes in another, and at night, every family sleeps in their own tent, on the soft clean sand, "Males and Females promiscuously." The Dutch did not confine themselves and their families within the walls of their town. The Commandeur had a garden house outside, where Commandeur Angelbeek entertained the King of Travancore (MS. No. 1299), the handsome British Residency on Bolghotty Island has absorbed on old Dutch house as tradition and a tablet in the hall bearing the date 1744 A.D. testify, and when Anquetil du Perron was staying at the Town Inn at Cochin in 1757, mine host took him to see his country place. Cochin town has not yet in this year of grace 1909 a wholesome water-supply for its 20,000 inhabitants. One proposal is to bring the water by pipes from Alwaye. This would cost, it is estimated, 12 lakhs of rupees or £80,000. Another proposal is to bring it by train. *Feradalva* and *Firdalgo* are corruptions of Portuguese Feira d' Alva, a name given no doubt on account of the annual *fair* still held at Alwaye at Sivaratri.

give them out to the garrison here; so that it is clear that in time they will become unfit for use even with the best of care. The best way to get rid of them is to hand over a few casks every year to passing vessels. The year in which they were imported should be marked on them without fail. This I have done in the case of the barrels of powder also; otherwise it is difficult to ascertain their age.

Company's Servants.

The Hon'ble Company's servants under this Commandery need not be described at any length, as they are known to your Worship. As everywhere they consist of good men and bad, active men and men without zeal, and would that the latter were not in the majority; but as the Hon'ble Company must be served by men, we cannot, it is clear, look for perfection. It is impossible for the Chief of a Settlement to make all the crooked sticks straight; still, for the future, it is committed to your Worship's kind attention to remember the deserving when opportunity offers and to recommend them to their Right Worshipfuls. The undeserving should be kept to their duty by stern measures and should admonition prove of no avail you must get rid of them. It must be remembered, however, that their Right Worshipfuls have forbidden such useless persons being sent on to them merely by way of getting rid of them, but their character should be clearly described in the letters in order that they may be sent home.

With regard to the improvement of the Company's servants their Right Worshipfuls have been pleased to amplify the well known regulations of 1699 by means of considerations of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff included for that purpose in the Memoir he left behind in Ceylon except the point relating to shipbuilders, which has been modified for this town, as may be seen in Their esteemed letter of the 30th September 1742. As to the numerical strength of the establishments we have always been guided by the regulations of Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon. During the war the number has been much increased, but as soon as peace and quiet have been restored your Worship will have to observe the regulations to the letter except as to the point relating to the garrisons.

In accordance with a resolution of the 19th instant, even though a peace should be concluded, the garrisons must be kept on this year in greater force than the sanctioned strength; however, as soon as the times and circumstances permit, your Worship should dispense with the additional forces.

Interpreters.

With reference to interpreters I must add a note here that the Interpreter Balthazar den Brouwer having died and the head Interpreter Cornelis van Meeckeren having passed his seventieth year, your Worship must not neglect what is necessary to make the three young interpreters Pieter Weits, Willem van der Kaa and Hendrik van der Linden efficient. Otherwise your Worship will often find yourself in great difficulties; and because I think it absolutely necessary that the interpreters themselves should write the olas (though this has never been done here, but a special Malabar writer has always been employed) I have made the young interpreters show me an ola written by themselves every evening, and if your Worship continues this practice we may confidently hope that they will in time become skilful therein.

Deserters.

In this connection something must be said about deserters. On our proposal their Right Worshipfuls have consented by letter, dated the 7th November 1740, to issue orders that a cartel of exchange of deserters with the foreign European nations on this coast should be established; the same was communicated to the English and French, but both excused themselves on the plea of want of authority, but promised to apply for the necessary authority from their superiors. However when we noticed that the proposal was not to their taste and that the proceedings were being spun out, we took the liberty to request their Right Worshipfuls' sanction in our humble secret letter of the 12th May 1741 to publish a proclamation of General Pardon to all deserters. In their esteemed answer, dated the 6th November 1741, sanction was kindly accorded under the usual conditions and last year a general pardon for a period of six months was proclaimed on the 26th February at Coilan and successively

in all places under the jurisdiction of this Commandery and on the 21st August the time was extended from the expiration of the first period for another six months. This ended in moving the authorities at Mahé to agree to the proposed cartel. But as pending the execution of the cartel the notorious case occurred of the French head interpreter Ignatius Texeida of Coilan and the soldier Frans Harmen O . . n of Cochin, who took refuge in Cannanore under cover of the Proclamation of Pardon, a full account of which incident will be found in the letters then interchanged, the French declared that they had no mind to maintain the cartel that had been settled. With regard to this you must await the orders of their Right Worshipfuls. As in the meantime we had received no answer from the English, we addressed ourselves direct to the Governor and Council of Bombay, who to our surprise replied that they had no power to settle a cartel, but must first obtain permission from England. This moved their Right Worshipfuls to issue orders that we should pay back those nations in their own coin. It must be added here that in accordance with a resolution of the 14th instant, the Proclamation of Pardon is to be extended for another year. Your Worship may give effect to this after my departure; I was unwilling to do this lest these people, who are very simple for the most part, should imagine that the proclamation ceased to be in force with my departure.

Native Servants and Subjects.

The Company's native servants and subjects consist of Topasses, Lascorins and Muquas.

The Topasses come down to us from the Portuguese freed slaves, and possibly some illegitimate children among them. They have borrowed and carefully preserved not only the name but also the character of their old masters. They are particularly haughty, lazy and conceited and though they receive great privileges at the hands of the Honourable Company and cannot expect better treatment under a Roman Catholic Government still it is true that they nevertheless strongly hanker after a change, as was only too clear to us when four years ago the French made a show on this coast with their rodomontades. However a few must be excepted, who behave well, at least outwardly. The majority of them find a living under the Hon'ble Company. Most of the gardens and fields are rented out to them; many of them are employed in the ship-building yard, with the house carpenters and in the smithy, some of them serve as interpreters, others are soldiers and many earn their living by fishing; they alone enjoy the privilege of selling refreshments to the company's ships; many also in this town live by all kinds of crafts and trades; in a word it may be said that all except those who are too lazy to work can find means enough of livelihood on this coast. Nevertheless, there are many and indeed the best of them who leave these parts without permission and take service with the English and French. We have done our best to provide aganist this by the Regulation published on the 26th September 1739. These people dress in the European fashion, speak the Portuguese language and by common consent stand under the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company. They are not allowed to marry without a letter of consent from the commandeur and their disputes are settled by our Courts of Justice.

As for the head interpreter of the French at Mahé, Ignatius Texeida, who is a born subject of the Hon'ble Company and first of all entered their service, he asked us to inform him whether he could avail himself of the General Pardon which was published on the 26th February 1742. We replied that he could and he found an opportunity to take refuge in the Fort at Cannanore on the 30th May last year, and has been protected by us notwithstanding the many protests of the French, which your Worship will find in the Letter-book of foreign nations together with our answer. With regard to this your Worship will have to await the answer of their Right Worshipfuls, who were respectfully informed of the matter by letter of the 16th July following.

I have also granted a letter of pardon to Domingo Rodrigues, the interpreter of the English at Ansjenga and at the same time of the king of Travancore. He pleaded that he could not come over to us at once on the ground that his small fortune was outstanding among the natives. He assured me at the same time that he would meanwhile discover all secrets to me; to which end I have had a correspondence kept

up with him. At last I discovered that he was a traitor who showed all his letters to the commandant of Ansjenga or to the king before they were despatched and so he must not be allowed to enjoy this privilege (of Pardon). Captain Silvester Mendes is the head of the Topasses. He is a man of good conduct and particularly conversant with the affairs of Malabar. I have made use of him with great profit in the service of the Company

Lascorins.

The Lascorins are natives of Malabar, converted from all castes to the Popish faith by the Roman priests Their numbers increase daily wonderfully because a Malabar losing his caste for a trifle, is a dead man or a slave if he cannot reach a Christian church in time. Being baptised in a Christian church he becomes the subject of the Hon'ble Company and consequently a free man whom no one would dare to molest. Even though this may not be exactly the intention of the Hon'ble Company, still the Reverend Fathers at least have so understood the matter and explained it to the native princes. The conversion of the heathen is in itself a laudable thing and we have no grounds for opposing it strongly, but matters had gone so far that we had ground to fear great difficulties; for it is in fact unreasonable to screen evildoers indiscriminately in this way from the lawful punishments which, according to the law of the land, they should suffer for their crimes. The result is that the displeasure of the native princes falls on the Hon'ble Company, and as to our knowledge such a policy has never been authorized by our Supreme Government, at least in such circumstances, we gave the princes to understand that this abuse has never been approved by us. However the Reverend Fathers none the less continued to exercise their ill-directed zeal and without waiting for any instructions baptised such evildoers and then wanted to help themselves to the church taxes, granted, so they said, by Cherum Perumal. All this caused so much confusion and disturbance that we were obliged to bring the Catholic priests under the jurisdiction of the Company under some control in the matter by means of the Regulations issued on the 7th September of last year. Their Right Worshipfuls' esteemed approval must be awaited.

The above mentioned Lascorins use the Malabar language, laws and dress. Many of them are employed in the service of the Company as soldiers, others find a living in agriculture. In criminal proceedings they are dealt with in accordance with the Company's laws, but it seems to me that in civil proceedings this cannot be conveniently done because in this respect Malabar law has been fully introduced and is in use among them; moreover four courts of justice would not suffice to settle all the disputes of these men, which rarely involve more than three or four rix-dollars, and so the costs unavoidably incurred in our courts of justice would usually be greater than the amount in dispute. At the same time justice must be administered for these people and three rix-dollars is with them a capital on which their welfare depends. To the great satisfaction of these poor people I have settled the matter as follows: If the litigating parties cannot agree each must nominate two of his good friends as good men and true to inquire into the matter and settle the dispute; if these cannot agree among themselves they are allowed to increase their number by adding two more arbitrators and if even then they cannot settle the dispute, I added two of their chiefs or sometimes others and the matter is then decided by a majority of votes. If the loser is not satisfied with the decision he is referred to the Commissioners of Small Causes. but recourse is seldom taken to them. It is true all this gives some trouble to the Chief of the Settlements but in my opinion no other expedient can be discovered.

With regard to the Lascorins I must add that some 300 of them deserted during the last campaign, and many of them took the Company's muskets with them. Those who could be arrested have been thrown into prison until we should hear their Right Worshipfuls' pleasures concerning them, because the judge seemed to make difficulties about punishing them in accordance with the provisions of the Regulations, hoping that owing to the large number their Right Worshipfuls might deal with them in conformity with their usual clemency; otherwise the guilty persons will be forced to seek refuge in far distant places and so the Hon'ble Company would be deprived of so many useful subjects. However the leaders and those who took with them the Company's

muskets should be excepted from this concession in order to make an example for the future. By the common consent of all Thomas de Britto was appointed last year Captain of the Lascorins, but since that time he has become addicted to drink and as we seldom see change for the better among these men your Worship's choice may fall on the Lieutenant of the Lascorins, Francisco de Souza, a brave soldier, a faithful servant of the Company and an honourable man [1].

Mukkuvas.

The Muquas (Mukkuvas) or Christian fishermen who live along the coasts of Cochin stood formerly under the Portuguese and afterwards under the Hon'ble Company as appears from the treaty between the Hon'ble Company and the kings of Cochin concluded on the 20th of March 1663; in which in the ninth article it is expressly stated that all the Christians who had stood from of old under the town of Cochin and were living along the coast must remain under the jurisdiction of and stand only under the judges attached to the Hon'ble Company and the Governor of Ceylon on condition however that under a further treaty made with the abovementioned kings dated the 25th of February 1664, they must pay certain taxes to the king as required by old custom. This point being so clearly set forth one would suppose that there is no possible room for dispute, but the ambition of the Malabar rulers is so great that in spite of the treaties the kings of Cochin have often attempted to filch the jurisdiction over the Muquas from the Hon'ble Company. This had gone so far lately that the Nairs of Cochin not only ill-treated these people shockingly and plundered their houses but wanted to drive them away and force them to live in the Dutch town. Seeing that it was not only just but quite necessary to support them on account of the great services which they render the Hon'ble Company, we were obliged to send a couple of companies of soldiers to Manicordi [Manacoram]; the result was that His Highness has repented and promised not only to have the plunder restored, but never more to molest them. In return the Hon'ble Company has promised to see that the Muquas pay their taxes without fail to His Highness.

Coolies.

The coolies that are daily required in the service of the Company are got by the Press Master from among the Christian Muquas who live along the coast between Cochin and Manicordi. They are paid from one to two fanams per diem according to their abilities. Whenever a large number is required the interpreter must write an ola to the headman of the Muquas who live between Manicordi and St. Andries, who must supply as many coolies as are indented for. The regulations against the abuses formerly practised in this matter are known to your Worship and must be carefully observed.

Roman Catholic Priests.

The above-mentioned three classes of people belong to the Roman false doctrine which has been introduced here everywhere by a swarm of priests. According to the treaties there must be no Jesuits in Cochin territory, but in some places only there may be Franciscans. The Carmelites, however, again returned to this coast in the year 1701 with the permission of our Worshipful Masters and have established themselves at Varapolly [Verapoly] three (Dutch) miles from this town; they must comply with certain conditions as may be seen in our Masters' esteemed letter of the 8th April 1698, and they have observed them fairly well. The Jesuits also, but without our consent, have returned and have made their nests in the lands of Coddacherry Caimal and Murianatty Nambiar. In spite of our many endeavours we have not yet been able to expel them; which, however, were much to be wished for many weighty reasons.

For the last six or seven years I have not allowed Jesuits in this town nor suffered any of their disciples to be appointed to minister in the parishes which are under the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Company. These parishes are eleven in number, viz., St. Louis, Sr. Saude, Mattanchery, Baypin, Cruz de Milagre, Paliport, Cranganore,

[1] The Lascorins at Cochin were "an inheritance from the Portuguese": they were descendants of "Shogans and other low castes" (Letter to Batavia of 16th May 1741 in MS. No. 335).

Balarparty, Anjicaimal, Bendurty, Palurty [1]. This last parish was established by a leprous Portuguese Major and for this reason it stands without doubt under the Hon'ble Company although the king of Cochin maintains the contrary. Whenever a Vicar was required I have chosen persons who have done their course of study under the Bishop at Verapoly, who must ordain them. This has made the Jesuits extremely bitter against me, and they in their turn have endeavoured according to their well-known maxims to bring much harm on me, but this must not frighten your Worship from doing what is in your power to oppose their intrusion because the Company's service demands it and our supreme authorities earnestly desire it.

I could suitably enlarge my remarks on this subject with a description of the Syrian or St. Thomas Christians who, according to the Company's orders, must be protected above all others; of whom a large number have become Romans but have retained the ritual and language of the Syrian Church and who in consequence of their antiquity think themselves far superior to the other Malabar Christians; but my work increases to such an extent owing to the diversity of the topics that I prefer to refer your Worship for further information to the old papers and chiefly to my special letter dated the 16th of May 1741 and addressed to their Right Worshipfuls the High Indian Government at Batavia as I have nothing to add to what I said there [2].

Next we come to a most important point:—

Economy.

In all your doings your Worship should practise economy if you wish to give satisfaction and reap honour. By economy I understand not a perverse but a proper and well regulated management and carefully thought-out thrift. Indeed the Hon'ble Company would profit little if only for the purpose of boasting greater gains and less expenditure, one were in order to save charges to neglect to have the necessary repairs done to buildings requiring them and to vessels or to refuse to give the native chiefs a present at the right time, by which the Hon'ble Company might gain some considerable advantage, and so on; but both in the management of the Company's goods and in the lessening and pruning of all unnecessary expenses careful consideration is everywhere necessary.

No doubt the burdens will be greatly lightened as soon as the war is over and all the fortifications and other works have been finished, but this goes without saying. Your Worship should, however, endeavour to surpass in this point your Worship's predecessors who lived in peaceful times and who built nothing of importance. To this end I would recommend to your Worship to use as an example and a guide the books of Commissary and Commandeur Marten Huisman of happy memory. To my mind he of all the Commandeurs deserves the greatest praise in this respect and if your Worship would be pleased to look over them item by item it would be easy for your Worship to discover where most abuses are practised and to correct them. It is especially necessary before the accounts of the trade books are closed and before they are read in Council for your Worship to have them carefully checked by two capable persons, because otherwise many abuses are practised in this matter to the great damage of the interests of our Lords and Masters.

The Hon'ble Company has no outstanding debts with the merchants here and it is also entirely contrary to the Company's orders to give occasion for them by supplying merchandise on credit.

However at the request of the king of Cochin cash and ammunition to the value of 7.518$\frac{9}{32}$ rix-dollars have been supplied to the new ruling Prince of Berkencur for the continuation of the war, as appears from a bond executed by him and dated the 8th of November 1741. His Highness the King of Cochin guaranteed this sum and

[1] There being holes in the original MS. at this point the words Mattanchery and Cruz de Milagre are incomplete; but I have no doubt that I have correctly restored them. Mattanchery is Native Cochin. Cruz de Milagre is Portuguese for the Miraculous Cross; the miracle is still believed and related: it is of the common type of a cross thrown overboard by an irreligious skipper which found its way to shore and bled. I am informed by Father J. Monteiro that the present church of the Senhora de Saude is the third church on the site and was built in 1804. The Vypeen, Cruz de Milagre, Palliport and Balarparty (Valarparam) churches all exist; the three first lie on Vypeen island. Anjicaimal is Ernaculam opposite Cochin on the other side of the backwater and Bendurty is Vandurti island. Compare p. 185-6 of Moens' Memoir below.

[2] It is a lengthy letter of 46 pages to be found in MS. No. 335.

it may be recovered without difficulty out of his tolls. For your Worship's information I must remark here that His Highness would be glad to get his guarantee cancelled on the plea that he never gave his consent, but the matter is too well known for any doubt to be possible. Not only did we have the money delivered to the king of Cochin by the Company's merchant Ezechiel Rabbi but an agreement was drawn up in our presence between the King and the Prince that the lands of Cavallamangalam situated in Berkencur should be given to the king of Cochin in pledge until this sum should be repaid. Both parties also examined and accepted the aforesaid account here at the Court. So your Worship should feel no sympathy for these unfounded pleas but should continue to withhold the King's tolls and mint dues until the full amount has been paid ; nor should you take the slightest notice of the offer of the Prince to pay this debt to the Hon'ble Company himself since you can put little trust in the promises of these Princes and we would never have lent this money had we not reckoned on the tolls of the king of Cochin which safeguard the Hon'ble Company against all loss and risk.

In the same manner a loan of 11,033 $\frac{41}{120}$ rix-dollars has been made to the Signatty on a bond for 6,033$\frac{41}{120}$ and on good security for 5,000, which will have to be recovered out of his pepper tolls. Appended for your Worship's consideration is a separate memorandum about these two items, No. 10 of the annexures [missing].

Peace Negotiations.

During this war we have endeavoured to open peace negotiations with the Raja of Travancore every year before the beginning of the campaign but this proud prince has not condescended to reply to our friendly olas on the subject. Last year he sent some persons to Climanur to treat with us, but his demands were so unreasonable that we could not listen to them. This was all the more surprising as the Company's arms were at that time prospering greatly and we had recently conquered the province of Climanur and were ready to invade Attinga ; you may easily judge from this how presumptuous he has become since we have had to leave the field. However on concluding a peace with the Signatty at Manattu in September last, His Highness expressed in strong terms to the kings of Cochin and Tekkencur his great desire to become reconciled with the Hon'ble Company and he requested the above-mentioned kings to effect this by their mediation, adding threats in case they should be found careless on this point. We then flattered ourselves that a reasonable peace might be expected in the near future. But the above-mentioned mediators were by no means anxious to exercise their good offices and in spite of our many requests and exhortations we could not get even so far in three months as to get a place fixed for the negotiations. As it was quite apparent that there would never be any end to this, we resolved to leave those unwilling mediators alone and to address ourselves direct to the king of Travancore. Outwardly he showed himself very willing and sent his representatives Krishna Anavy, the Dellawa[1], and Cuchu Mussadu to Mavilcarre, a place situated in the little kingdom of DeMartha ; Ezechiel Rabbi and the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, were sent to the same place on behalf of the Company. After the lapse of a month, matters had proceeded so far that we were on the point of sending some members of our Council thither to settle the affair finally. But the Travancore Rajadores, with their usual craftiness, all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly declared that His Highness had changed his mind and refused to approve what they had conceded and that it would be necessary to go with them to His Highness at Tirvananda Poram (Trivandrum) to settle these points. Our representatives gathered from various circumstances that if they refused they would be taken by force and so pretended to agree to the proposal and only asked to be allowed to go to Cochin first, to receive further instructions from us. In this way they escaped from the hands of those faithless Malabaris. A full account of all this will be found in the correspondence which has been collected in a separate bundle. and in the papers concerning the peace negotiations with the representatives of the king of Travancore at Mavilcarre and to avoid prolixity I refer your Worship to those documents.

---

[1] Dalava. Prime Minister, corresponding with the modern Diwan. This Dalawa's name was Rama Iyer according to Shungoony Menon and Nagam Aiyar. Cuchu Mussadu is given as Talavadi Kunju Mutadu Kariakar by ese authorities.

In the meantime we strongly remonstrated against such proceedings with the Raja of Travancore and His Highness seemed to be sorry and requested that the former representatives should once more be sent to the Quilon Paro[1] to reopen the negotiations. Having thought over the matter carefully it was decided in the Council of Malabar that the undersigned himself should go to the coast of Travancore together with the ships and smaller vessels which were on hand, since owing to the distance of the place and the usual dilatoriness of the Malabaris in transacting business there would not otherwise be the slightest hope of settling the matter this good monsoon [2].

With this view the Captain of the Topasses Silvester Mendes was sent in advance to re-open the negotiations which had been broken off. He arrived at Paro and began again to treat with the above-mentioned Rajadores. In his letter of the 18th of February he intimated that he had no great hopes of success and as a matter of fact on my arrival at Quilon I found the said representatives entirely untractable. Having agreed with them on some point one day they had no scruple about retracting next day and always on the plea that such was His Highness's pleasure, hinting that it was wrong of His Highness to be so changeable. The more concessions I made, the more impertinent became their demands.

However after much trifling, we had proceeded so far that we had hopes again of seeing a satisfactory settlement of affairs before long; but this did not last long. On the third of this month the said Captain of the Topasses came to me with the news that His Highness had made known his final decision viz. that His Highness declines to deliver up the deserters nor will he return the guns, war material, cash and other effects taken in the war, on the ground of a counter account which His Highness had handed in of all the damages he had suffered during the war alleged to amount to fully 3 or 400,000 rix-dollars; the promised pepper would be supplied for not less than 54 rupees a candy; the old contract must be annulled, the Company's merchandise must pay duty in His Highness country; the Hon'ble Company must assist His Highness when necessary not only with gunpowder and lead, but also with cannon, mortars, bombs, bombardiers, gunners and musketeers. The Hon'ble Company must fight the French if they should try to compel His Highness to keep his promises with regard to Colletje [Colachel] and also keep the Armanese[3] out of His Highness country; if His Highness wished to go to war with any one, the Hon'ble Company must bind herself to remain neutral; and similar absurdities; and as the above-mentioned Captain had had some difficulty in obtaining permission to come to me, I did not think it advisable to send him there again, but wrote to His Highness's representatives that their proposals being unacceptable I did not wish to treat any further, but would take my departure. I requested that the baggage of Silvester Mendes might be sent on. The request was granted and with the same messenger four olas arrived, two for the officer in command of the troops and two for the above-mentioned Captain. With their usual craftiness they pretended in these olas that they had not been able to understand why the negotiations has been broken off and asked to be told the reason and made it pretty clear that they would be glad to re-open them. I at once sent them a new draft of several articles so drawn for the most part apparently as they themselves had desired but really cut on an entirely different model and subject to the approbation of their Right Worshipfuls, with the view, as there was little hope of a reasonable peace, that this expedient might at least be looked on as involving a year's truce and meanwhile we could recover our captives and war material and also live in peace until the answer of their Right Worshipfuls should arrive.

Upon this the king at once sent his representatives, who had already returned to him at Atingen, back again to Paro and wrote in very friendly terms that he would endeavour to settle the differences in two or three days and that there were only one or two points which were to be altered, adding that he had not been able quite to understand some things in the draft. I despatched the late Captain of the Lascorins, Isaac Isaacksz (who had meanwhile been sent for from Cochin on account of the ignorance of the interpreter Alewijn) and also the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, there to inquire of the representatives what His Highness wished to have changed in the treaty

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[1] Parur (Paravur) south of Quilon, distinguished from the kingdom of Parur (Paravur) in the north.
[2] Monsoon here, as commonly = season. The good monsoon is the dry season.
[3] Armanese, *i.e.*, the people of the Aramana (Malayalam) or Aranmanai (Tamil) or Court. The Court referred to is doubtless that of the Muhammadan Nawabs who claimed tribute from Travancore.

and to explain to them what they pretended not to understand. Next day these officers informed us in a short letter that there was no change for the better and that in spite of their specious promises all the Travancore proposals were full of craft and ambiguity; and in fact His Highness declared straight out in an ola received on the 6th instant that he was not inclined to conclude the treaty of peace subject to the approbation of their Right Worshipfuls nor to forego his unreasonable demands. So we ordered our representatives to return to Coilan. Thus ended the peace negotiations at Pulicarro. All that took place there may be seen in detail in a bundle of papers connected with the peace negotiations at Pulicarro with the representatives of the king of Travancore.

Meanwhile the king of Travancore does not seem to be disinclined to re-open the negotiations once more with your Worship though I cannot quite understand with what object; perhaps he wants to see whether your Worship will show a little more compliance or, being particularly embittered against me, he would rather settle the matter with your Worship. My opinion is that your Worship should not refuse to treat with him, and as I am convinced that there is no chance of a reasonable peace without having a powerful force in the field, there will be no need for hurry but you may take things quite easy after their own fashion and in the meantime you will have peace. It would be more in accordance with the respect due to the Company and safer for their representatives if a neutral place is fixed upon for the conferences.

The Signatty.

The Signatty [king of Quilon] paid me a visit on the 27th of February last on board the ship "Popkensburg" and declared that he was more than ever incensed against the king of Travancore. He requested me to assist him on behalf of the Company with men, money, war material and rice. I refused His Highness's request explaining that as His Highness had received (back) most of his lost lands as a present from the Raja of Travancore, he must for the future or at least for the present not think of going to war; his circumstances by no means justify it and the Hon'ble Company is not inclined to permit of such a step being taken at its expense, just to humour the whims of His Highness, who has promised in the treaty of peace lately made to deliver an elephant and the arrears of four years' tribute amounting to 28,000 gallioons to the Travancore Raja next April [1].

At present he does not seem to be at all inclined to pay although the times and circumstances make it imperatively necessary that he should; else he will run the risk of being turned out of his lands for a second time. However on his repeated and pressing request, we have promised His Highness to assist him as far as possible with powder and lead and if the lines [*i.e.* Quilon lines] should be again invested also with rice for cash payments. I have also granted His Highness two passes for fifty candies of cotton each, since the Hon'ble Company will make no further purchases of that article this year owing to its excessively high price and the interests of the Company require us to support and shore up this Raja so far as it can be done without injury to the Hon'ble Company. His Highness has also promised to send the beam supplier to your Worship to make a written contract [2].

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[1] Gallioon (kalyan) fanams were, as shown in the note at p. 54 above, about six to the rupee at this time; so that the tribute imposed by Travancore on Quilon was a little over Rs. 1,000 per annum besides an elephant.

[2] The MS. contains a few more pages but they are much mutilated and do not seem to have been of great interest; the movements of certain ships are referred to, and some account is given of the Company's dubashes.

MEMORANDUM

ON THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE COAST OF MALABAR

BY

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL ADRIAAN MOENS,

EXTRAORDINARY MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA, GOVERNOR AND DIRECTOR OF THE MALABAR COAST, CANARA AND VINGORLA.

DRAWN UP FOR THE INFORMATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR.

DATED 18TH APRIL 1781 A.D.

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. P. GROOT, S.S.J., AND A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.,

WITH NOTES BY

A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

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PREFACE.

It is a standing order in India that the retiring Chief of a Settlement should leave a memorandum on the administration for the guidance of his successor. When I came here, my predecessor had not been able to do so owing to pressure of work and indisposition. As I had no knowledge whatever of Malabar, I had recourse to reading the records; first those beginning from the year 1753 (because since that time the Company's system here has been changed) and afterwards those of earlier times. This has been a great help to me. Now that it has pleased the High Indian Government to recall me and to appoint your Worship as my successor, with special orders to place at your Worship's disposal a concise memoir, I could not think of a better plan (although your Worship is not so much in want of instruction as other people would be on account of your well-known knowledge of the administration) than to give an account of particulars which cannot easily be learnt all at once either by reading the old papers or by making enquiries from the natives, which methods, however industrious one may be, involve some expenditure of time. For the same reason I have given a somewhat detailed account of Nabob Hyder Aly Khan, which gives at one view and connectedly the history of our relations with him. This could otherwise only be gathered from the letters despatched and received. Now-a-days one cannot be too watchful nor careful in matters regarding this formidable conqueror. Your Worship might later on read through the original documents at your convenience. A narrative of this description I consider all the more necessary, because the affairs of Malabar, the one more, the other less, are so inextricably mixed up and mutually connected that if you should wish at the outset of your administration to meddle with an affair of little importance (no matter what good object you may have in view), it might sometime or other cause a derangement which, on account of your not being acquainted with the particulars, could not have been anticipated. Accordingly I have set before myself first to treat of Malabar in general, then in particular the four kings of Malabar or principal kingdoms of which it consists, and also those kings who, though they do not belong directly to Malabar, stand in some relation to it; next the inhabitants of this country, and then further the properties, interests, revenues and domestic economy of the Company in the separate chapters which follow this preface.

Although I should have liked not to have been tied down to writing a memorandum on account of my occupations and the inconveniences to which I have for some time past been subjected, and for these reasons I had intended to execute this work concisely, it has insensibly grown more bulky than I expected, because during my time of office I made a practice of noting things which appeared to be of some use. Owing to this I could go on writing without continually consulting papers and the desire to expatiate a little here and there has continually crept upon me.

Moreover during my spare hours I did something in the way of enquiring for my own amusement into the origin and progress of the so-called St. Thomas' Christians, Roman Christians and Jews here, dissertations on which subjects, covering some sheets of paper, I have added to this almost word for word as I had put them together, except the dissertation on the Jews, on which subject I have for some years conducted a correspondence with Mr.'s Gravenzande, minister of the Divine Word at Middleburg in Zeeland, who offered the contents of our correspondence to the Zeeland Society of Sciences at Flushing; and it has been inserted by the said society in the 6th volume of its published Proceedings. So with regard to the Jews I have mentioned only the principal matters; save that, when I thought that it might be of use, I have added also some particulars obtained here since that time, *e.g.*, a second and third translation of the charter which the Jews here obtained from the Malabar emperor Cherumperumal, besides the reasons why there was formerly such a bitter hatred between the white and black Jews and a few other passages which may best be noted in the reading.

As various secret points are referred to in this writing, I have without exactly naming them as far as possible employed general expressions and preferred to direct your Worship to the secret documents, letters and resolutions by indicating the dates, so that by turning them up, you may find full information regarding the matters referred to.

I have dealt in the same way with matters which are not secret in themselves but only relate to arrangements in the matter of the domestic economy and other interests of the Company here, because a special mention and discussion of all these things would have extended this writing considerably beyond even its present dimensions.[1]

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[1] The Hyder Aly Khan mentioned above is the famous Hyder Aly of Mysore, the most determined and successful of the native enemies of the East India Company in Southern India ; the St. Thomas' Christians are the Syrian Christians of Malabar who claim to be a church founded by the Apostle St. Thomas ; Cherumperumal (Cherumán Perumál) is the mythical founder of several of the great families of the West Coast ; the Supreme Government's orders to Moens to write a "Concise Memoir" will be found in letter from Batavia, dated 30th September 1780, in M.S. No. 1184 ; the contents of Moens' correspondence about the Cochin Jews will be found in Büsching's Magazine, volume 14, Halle, 1780 ; and a review thereof in the Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur, Leipzig, 1781

CHAPTER I.

MALABAR IN GENERAL.

If ever much has been written and thought in different ways about any factory of the Company in India, it has been undoubtedly about Malabar, where matter has constantly been furnished by changes and revolutions.

Malabar is the latest conquest taken by the Company in India from the Portuguese; for immediately after it was taken the tidings came that peace with Portugal had been made and ratified.

In the year 1774 various ugly rumours were current about the Portuguese in connection both with this town and Ceylon, which were mentioned by me in my letter, dated 24th May of that same year, to the then first Advocate[1] of the Company Mr. Van der Hoop. This letter was despatched overland privately as there was at that time no opportunity to send it by ship. A copy of this letter will be found at the Secretariat and I refer you to the same.

The rumours in connection with this place came among other things to this: viz., that the Portuguese had made preparation to re-establish themselves in India and that they would first claim this town under pretext that it was taken after peace was made. These rumours were fairly general and even considered probable, because just at that time there were really many improvements and changes for the better introduced at Goa with regard to sea artillery and military reorganisation as also with regard to their political administration. But since then these rumours have again gradually disappeared.

It is mentioned in the "Vaderlandsche Historie" (the National History) 13th volume, page 378, that in the year 1669 it was agreed between Holland and Portugal *that Cochin and Cannanore would remain Dutch, as a pledge for arrears, which were still due to the States by Portugal.* Whether these arrears have ever been settled and whether since then anything has been agreed to about these two towns, the "Vaderlandsche Historie" does not mention.

Cochin was conquered in January and Cannanore in February 1663. Peace was made on the 6th August 1661, but the ratification or sanction was not exchanged mutually before the 15th December 1662 according to the same "Vaderlandsche Historie," page 72; and the proclamation was issued on the 11th March 1663. According to the 6th article of the treaty of peace, hostilities were to cease two months after the ratification in Europe and in other regions after the proclamation of peace. Now as the proclamation of peace was published at the Hague only in March 1663, it follows that the proclamation in India must have taken place considerably later and so Cochin and Cannanore are legal conquests; but why it was then agreed upon *to keep these places as a pledge for arrears* is a puzzle to which I can suggest no solution[2].

However, I was once told here by a Portuguese in the course of a conversation, as a fact which was commonly accepted and believed by his nation, that the Portuguese, after peace was made, would undoubtedly have received back the town of Cochin, if they had been willing to make good the expenses which the Dutch gave out they had incurred before and after the conquest of the town, and the amount of which was so excessively large that Portugal could not see her way to paying it.

But be that as it may, our rights have been sufficiently established by a possession of more than a hundred years *quod ad jus*, and we ought to maintain them *quod ad factum.*

---

[1] The first Advocate was an important official of the Company in Holland; he acted as Secretary and one of his duties was to draft the letters to India.

[2] I have explained the matter and corrected the dates in my introduction, pp. 18–19 above.

Since my arrival here, I have tried as much as possible to find out what happened between the time the Portuguese first visited this coast and settled down and the time the Company took it and dislodged them, with the view of filling up the gaps in the history of that time and also to obtain something for our guidance from this or that event or from the Portuguese policy and administration during the period of their prosperity. However, I could discover nothing special which is not already chronicled by Portuguese and other public historians with the exception of some particulars which relate only to the clergy. These particulars I could only obtain from the notes and traditions of the Roman priests. I will insert them where it will be most suitable.

The reasons why the Company kept this conquest after taking it from the Portuguese seem to have been on the one hand because it was thought that Malabar would yield much (but it has turned out otherwise) and on the other hand with the view of not allowing our competitors to get a lodgment too near the coast of Madura and the island of Ceylon.

The coast of Malabar is situated to the north of the equator, mostly about 10° latitude and stretches out from Cape Comorin in the south to the promontory of Montedilly [1] in the north. In olden times Malabar was an empire and the emperors always bore the name of Cherumperumal. The last emperor was the famous Cherumperumal about whom many traditional stories were current among the inhabitants of Malabar, especially in regard to his good qualities and wise system of government, and the Malabaries are still guided and ruled by the laws and customs introduced by him.

This Cherumperumal after a happy reign of 48 consecutive years divided Malabar into four parts among his heirs and friends before his death and this is the origin of the four principal kingdoms of which Malabar consists, viz., Travancore, Cochin, Zamorin, and Colastry, besides many other minor kingdoms, states and important houses which again stand in some connection with one or other of the above-mentioned principal kingdoms; and some are still in existence but most have been driven and rooted out.

The Kingdoms of Travancore, of the Zamorin and of Colastry he gave to his three illegitimate sons, but the kingdom of Cochin to his sister's son, the natural or nearest heir to his kingdom according to the Malabar rule of succession.

The emperor, already stricken in years, seeking the peace and practice of his religion, spent the last years of his life, that is, the years after the division of his empire, in religious solitude in the famous pagoda of Trivanchacallam (Tiruvanchiculam) in the little state of Cranganore, in which pagoda he also died. The Moors of Malabar however will have it that Cherumperumal turned Moor and went by sea to Mocha on a pilgrimage.

The principal business of the Company here in Malabar is with the collection of pepper, with trade, with the revenue of our possessions and the levy of tolls. For the sake of the pepper there were in former days treaties of peace and friendship with all the native kings and princes, great and small, under which pepper was stipulated for at fixed prices and the policy was to maintain the balance among the several kings and princes. This was all right in the beginning, there being no shortage of pepper. The Company was regarded with awe and laid down the law to every one. Its name alone was nearly as effective in those days as its powder and shot now. But this golden age did not last long. This lucrative trade in pepper was bound to undergo disastrous changes like all other sublunary things which have their periods of rise, prosperity and decline.

The great demand for pepper in Europe, the export to China and other places, besides the purchase by our competitors who, when they saw us prosper, came hither, not only caused the price of pepper to rise but also first gave the native chiefs an appetite for, and then the habit of, high prices, as our competitors bought up pepper for higher prices than we.

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[1] Prominent hill on the coast north of Cannanore often mentioned from Marco Polo's time if not from that of the Peutingerian tables; first land sighted by Vasco da Gamo.

So the native chiefs began to fail us in the matter of this article and showed that, as is the rule with all native chiefs, self-interest weighs more than the carrying out of contracts. Severe complaints reached us, and with reason, both from Europe and Batavia, concerning the decline of such an important branch of the Company's trade.

The officials here tried to induce the kings to fulfil their contracts by exhortations, summonses and threats, but without effect; for the inhabitants of Malabar had already acquired too strong a taste for the high prices. In truth others who were not so situated here as we and had not our expenses could easily pay more for the pepper than we could.

The chiefs pretended that they were unable to compel their subjects to give the product of their fields and labour for lower prices than they were able to get from others. The chiefs too intrigued with Tom, Dick and Harry and caused the Company much trouble and dissatisfaction by short supply of pepper and by continual perfidy.

The decline in the supply of pepper became at last so serious that during the administration of Mr. Siersma, or more particularly in the year 1743, the supply of pepper was almost *nil*. The Company was constantly thinking over means of remedying this state of affairs. These means may be summarised under the heads :—

(1) to follow the market;

(2) forcibly to compel the chiefs to observe the contracts.

But the expensive upkeep of forts and towns for the sake of the pepper and for other reasons of State would not allow us to pay the rates of the market like other people, who had not to bear similar expenses.

We had also learnt the lesson from the ruinous war with Travancore [1] that it was not expedient to entangle the Company in another war, the expenses of which are always certain but the issue uncertain. Travancore, which for a long time had been pregnant with political ambitions and mercantile designs, began gradually to grow greater and to draw most of the pepper to herself.

For in the year 1734 the king had in an unlawful manner conquered Peritally and Marta, and a short time afterwards the kingdoms of Coilan and Calicoilan, which two kingdoms were at that time under one head called the Signatty. This was the cause of the well-known war between Travancore and the Company in the year 1739. For the Company, fearing that Travancore would become too powerful, had made up its mind to assist the Signatty.

At first this war was to some extent successful but afterwards it proved to be very disastrous to us. The Company squandered uselessly an immense sum of money and the Signatty lost everything. Travancore in the meanwhile remained in possession of the aforesaid kingdoms in which a great deal of pepper grows; and besides that Attinga, a kingdom rich in pepper to which he got his claim through his mother [2], had meanwhile become dependent on him, so that it has become necessary to fight Travancore or to make contracts with him for the pepper, since we would not follow the market.

So this remained a shibboleth till at last it was considered in representations and memoranda both from Batavia and from here :—

that if the Company's concerns continued to be directed on the old principles a complete decline was to be expected;

that Travancore owing to his superior power and the pusillanimity of the other kings stood to become in course of time master of the whole of Malabar, unless the Company intervened and frustrated these far-reaching designs;

that this last plan however could not be carried out without excessive expenses and with no certainty of lasting results whilst Travancore, supposing she succumbed, would still not remain idle, but now that she has already become so large, would each time recover and so keep the Company continually in travail;

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[1] The war referred to in section VIII of the introduction and at page 83 above.
[2] See page 53 above.

that even if we were completely successful, it would not be of an advantage to us commensurate with the cost of the war, because the other chiefs having obtained elbow-room, would go their old ways again on account of their well-known and proved ingratitude without for this reason supplying more pepper than they used to;

that, besides, the wars have rather served on the one hand to reveal the impotence of Europeans against the natives of the country, if they have to be brought to reason by force of arms, on the other hand to impose a great and unbearable burden on us, than to bring to the Company something substantial proportioned to the great hazards, inconveniences, burdens and losses, which it has brought on itself on this coast more than once by the wars;

that each time the war ends all the expenses of maintenance of a garrison cannot be reduced all at once and so, according as anything happened from time to time, the expenses gradually and imperceptibly grew;

that the Company in either case, whether Travancore alone remained in possession of Malabar, or the Company continued to support the other kings, would equally have no hope of more pepper and equally have to bear excessive burdens;

that therefore to make a treaty, profitable to both the Company and Travancore, would be the best and the most certain plan;

that such a treaty ought to provide, so that no obstacles should be put in the way of Travancore securing its great objects, for our remaining neutral and assisting her with ammunition, and that the Company in return should obtain a certain quantity of pepper below market prices;

that therefore in the future affairs ought to be looked upon from another point of view, and that the native chiefs should be allowed to attack one another, although they should ruin each other, rather than that we should put on our harness each time on their behalf;

that by making such a treaty with Travancore we should have to do with only one, and not with so many;

that on the other hand it must be considered that such a proceeding would affect the prestige of the Company everywhere here on this coast, especially as we held the dominant position for so long a time and even waged open war with Travancore for it, and that therefore the making of such an alliance just at a time when the balance of power seemed to have gone over to her side would raise surmises, more or less;

that, on the other hand, it must again be considered that our war with Travancore was only a defensive and auxiliary war; and that in this war, especially during the first campaign of 1739, it was clear enough what the Company was capable of doing and what more it could have done in the future if its hands had not been then tied at Batavia through that well-known and entirely unexpected incident,[1] and so it had been out of its power to send reinforcements hither; which was the reason why the war here proved so unfortunate;

that the change of system at that time could be conveniently put down to the intrigues of the European nations against each other out here in India;

that in any case it was better to make our authority grow imperceptibly again by means of the new system than by sticking to the old to see it gradually brought more and more to scorn.

These and similar considerations at last led to a treaty being made with the king of Travancore in the year 1753 through which the old system was discarded and the chief rule of Malabar administration became, as it still is, *keep friends with Travancore.*

In this treaty it was stipulated by Travancore among other things in the 9th and most important article :—

"That the Company shall renounce all alliances with the other chiefs and nobles " of Malabar with whom His Highness might desire to wage war, and shall not " thwart him in this matter in any respect, give asylum to any such persons, or " oppose His Highness's enterprises."

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[1] The reference is to the rebellion of the Chinese in Java, which has been described in section IX of the Introduction.

Result: all the kings and old allies abandoned by the Company and left to the discretion of the king of Travancore, with whom the Company is now alone engaged.

When this treaty was being drawn up, we no doubt tried to exclude the king of Cochin from the neutrality as our first and oldest ally and also as our nearest neighbour and to stipulate that His Highness should remain in the possession of his lands and states, but all our endeavours to that end failed, and we had to be satisfied with oral promises that Travancore would treat the king of Cochin as a friend so long as he did not give cause to His Highness for other behaviour towards him; that is to say, as long as it suited him.

No sooner was the conclusion of this treaty rumoured abroad than great consternation was noticed among the other kings who had otherwise had a prop and defence in the Company.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, Travancore took advantage of it, fell upon his neighbours and made such progress that having conquered speedily the kingdoms of Porca, Tekkencur and Berkencur, he became master of the whole of southern and a part of northern Malabar, and the king of Cochin not only lost his best pepper lands, but became very small, too small altogether, not to mention that Travancore obtained possession in the year 1762 of the beautiful territories of Paru and Mangatty situated between our town and Cranganore or rather next to Cranganore.

It is true the king of Cochin and some other chiefs, especially those of Berkencur and Tekkencur, put a small army together in order, by way of forlorn hope, to march against Travancore, but they were completely beaten. The king of Cochin remained in some sort, out of respect for the Company, the ruler of the little land that remained to him, but Travancore, partly by guile and in an unlawful manner, and partly by force of arms, is now master of the kingdoms of Peritally, Marta, Coilan, Calicoilan, Porca, Tekkencur, Berkencur, Paru and Mangatty, and the best part of the kingdom of Cochin.

Noteworthy is the letter written to Batavia by the king of Cochin, under date the 14th October 1753, the chief contents of which are literally as follows:—

"With the greatest regret in the world we are writing this óla and make "known to Your High Worship (the Governor-General) that the Hon'ble Company "is united to the king of Travancore by the conclusion and ratification of a treaty; "and we believe that their Worships (the Malabar Council) have sacrificed us, an "old friend and ally, besides other Malabar kings, to a mighty prince, and also "repudiated all treaties."

"When from the very beginning our ancestors tried to bring some kings "under the curb and to obedience, the Hon'ble Company continually interfered; "by obeying this order, this kingdom has come to be divided into so many parts and "so unable to coerce its powerful enemies; in former days the king of Travancore "and the Zamorin were subject to no one; now however that the king of Travancore "has become progressively a mighty king, he has known how to amuse the Hon'ble "Company with promises to observe everything, whereby he bids fair to bring the "other kings under his sway, but we believe that he will shortly try to subjugate the "Hon'ble Company also and we doubt very much whether he will help their Worships "to great profit, and even so they will have to put up with all affronts in all things for "it, and if the Hon'ble Company had favoured other kings in the same way as him of "Travancore, the Hon'ble Company would have obtained for ever greater advantages "and glory, since their Worships would never in that case have had to beware of "injury; the kindnesses which the Hon'ble Company would do to its old allies would "never be forgotten, but all that has been done to a mighty king will, if he succeeds "in his objects, be returned with ingratitude. When the Commandeur went to meet "the king Travancore at Mavalikkarre we accompanied him The said king in his "cajoling spirit assured us of the maintenance of a good understanding, but we have "hitherto not perceived any betterment with regard to our affairs, and it happens "that it is impossible for us to reduce to writing what was transacted on that occasion. "But be this as it may, he cannot be relied on, for he has no compassion on or "charity towards, neighbours, but plays with big men and small as a cat with mice,

"seeking nothing else but his own gains and profits, which we make known to their "Worships and we are sure that his intention is nothing else than to divide up our "kingdom for the sake of the Tambaan[1] and, when this has been done, to bring every-"thing under his sway."

And it was not without reason that, since this treaty was concluded, they have been afraid in the Netherlands of the progress made by Travancore, as may be judged from the following passage written from Amsterdam by the Council of the Worshipful Seventeen to Batavia, under date the 15th October 1755:—

"We trust that the treaty of peace, which Commandeur Cunes has at last "concluded with the king of Travancore, and for which we bestow praise upon him, "will be profitable to the Company; but when we reflect on the ambitious designs "of this prince and on his behaviour from time to time even with regard to the "Company, we are more and more strengthened in our belief that not much reliance "can be placed upon the aforenamed Rajah. For this reason we once more recommend "our administrators always to follow carefully the enterprises of the prince and to "be on their guard at every turn of events, in order that what the king of Cochin "wrote on this subject in his letter to your Worships may not be fulfilled."

Likewise in a letter of the 4th October 1756:—

"With reference to the king of Travancore, whose progress we cannot behold "with indifferent eyes, we are constantly in fear that if the said king should conquer "the kings of Cochin, Berkencur and Tekkencur, he would become a dangerous "neighbour to the Company; for this reason it would be desirable that the combined "arms of the said three kings may be so prosperous that the one party could be kept "in check by the other, and the king of Travancore thwarted in the execution of his "ambitious designs, of which he has already given divers indications, and which "therefore require every attention."

Should it be asked why, having been so successful in everything, he has not extended his conquests further, and completely subjugated the king of Cochin, the answer is that he would certainly have done this and has it still in his mind; but Travancore is far-seeing and careful; he knows very well that the conservation of his conquests requires as much prudence as their acquisition; he lies in wait; he looks out for opportunities and seldom lets any chance of obtaining an advantage slip by. At present it is all to his advantage to keep quiet, and preserve what he has for fear of Nabab Hyder Ali Khan who has long been hungering for his kingdom, and will undoubtedly attack him some time or other as soon as he sees a chance. It is for this reason that Travancore treats the king of Cochin more or less gently at present, even entirely hides his displeasure against him, since he has him almost under his thumb, and on this account would not be pleased to see another taking anything from him; for he reckons all Cochin has as his own. This was clearly indicated in the year 1770 when we had a dispute with the king of Cochin about some territory. Travancore first acted his part secretly behind the curtain and later on pretended publicly to be arbiter and mediator in this affair. The Company would have been involved in very unpleasant complications by this incident if the affair had not been decided in time; for otherwise Travancore would have taken possession of this disputed territory in the name of the king of Cochin. This was undoubtedly the object of this prince, and what he was on his watch for, and if this had happened, we should have been obliged to settle the dispute not with the king of Cochin, but with the king of Travancore. In this connection please refer to special letter to Batavia, dated 4th March 1772.

Besides this, Travancore played another little game in order gradually to weaken the king of Cochin without giving offence to the Company. He worked by means of the Zamorin who at that time had not yet been driven out of his kingdom and who from time immemorial has been a bitter enemy of Cochin. For, if the Zamorin (I will not say whether by the secret advice of Travancore) intended to seize some territory or other belonging to the king of Cochin, the king of Travancore would allow this somehow, only later on he would assist the king of Cochin in recovering it, and then under the plea of recovering his expenses keep the best lands for himself.

[1] Tamban is a lower form of Tamburan, prince. What is meant is a branch of the Cochin family which had lost the right of succession, viz., the Chayyur branch. The Tambaan are frequently mentioned in these records.

It is true that according to the fourth article of the treaty, he is bound to supply us annually from his hereditary territory with 3,000 candies of pepper at Rs. 65 a candy of 500 pounds, and from the conquered territories 2,000 candies at Rs. 55 a candy, but in the fulfilment of this he has been very much to seek ; not a single year has he supplied us with the quantity agreed to, excusing himself always on pleas of bad crops, smuggling and other subterfuges. Meanwhile he supplies the pepper for much more money to the English, or sells it to others, or sends it to Coromandel, supplying us now more, now less, as it suits him and also according as to whether we know how to deal with him.

It is indeed a pity that we cannot at least secure more pepper to make up for such a treaty ; and an administrator out here must sometimes eat his heart out trying to get a little pepper out of this king, and so he would well deserve to be compelled to keep the treaty strictly by forcible means and to be held to it and constrained to give us the full supply of pepper promised therein.

But as long as the Company sticks to its present peaceable policy, friendship with this king is and must remain of the utmost necessity. It were however to be wished that Travancore had not become so exceedingly large, and Cochin so small as they are at present, so that the latter might balance the former.

Indeed, no ruler would do better or be more suitable than the king of Cochin. He is our oldest ally and sufficiently rooted into us, so to speak ; his territory lies in view and almost within range of our walls ; he even shares with us the taxes of the town ; was faithful to the Company when Cochin was taken, and exposed himself for our sake to almost total ruin, inasmuch as he was so hard-pressed by the Portuguese that he was at the time turned out of his palace, but the Company generously restored him and he for that reason publicly acknowledged the Company as his protector in a treaty. Again, he is our nearest neighbour and a buffer between us and Travancore, and times and circumstances may so change that the necessity for this policy might cease; the saying is "Beacons shift with the banks." This is a delicate matter, and I refer to what was written in the special despatches of the 1st October 1771 and 25th September 1772 written by their Right Worshipfuls and to what was written by me in the special despatches, dated 28th August 1777 and 24th April 1778, to their Right Worshipfuls on the subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE KINGDOM OF TRAVANCORE.

Now I pass on to the rulers of Malabar in particular, and first to the king of Travancore. This is the most southern of the four chief kingdoms which constitute Malabar. The present king[1] is the nephew, or, to speak more precisely, the son of the sister of the king with whom the Company last waged war, and concluded that most recent notorious treaty (as is well-known, among the princes of Malabar the sons of their sisters are the heirs apparent and not the sons of the princes themselves; so that they may be sure that the successors to the throne are at least so far not of other than royal blood). He is not so enterprising or politic as his uncle, but on the other hand he has the smartest and ablest ministers, sufficiently trained in all business, and fit to conduct the weightiest negotiations; he however directs the principal affairs himself, inquires into, and is acquainted with everything that is of any importance.

It is true he is not of noble birth, but he caused himself to be made a noble, following the example of his uncle who first caused himself to be ennobled. This is called by the people of Malabar "to be re-born"; for that is the force of the word in which they express it. It is derived from the droll ceremonial which the ennobled person goes through, viz., passing through a big cow made of gold; after which, the golden cow is beaten to pieces, and divided among the Namburis or priests; and this king also was so raised to the nobility but with this difference that the ceremonies performed in his case were more complete and costly than those of his uncle, on account of which not only has he himself been made a noble, but his posterity also have been ennobled once for all, so that there is no longer any necessity for them to go through this ceremony.[2]

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[1] The king of Travancore in question is Rama Varma (1758-1798). His predecessor was the famous Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, the war is that of 1739-42 conducted by Stein van Gollenesse and referred to in his Memoir, and the "notorious treaty" that of 1753.

[2] The ceremony referred to is the well known ceremony called Hiranya or Hema Garbhamu (Golden Womb). There are numerous instances of its performance in different parts of India on record and it is still performed by successive Maharajas of Travancore in spite of the promise which seems to have been made on more than one occasion that it would be the last that would be required. A golden bath, representing a lotus leaf, is now substituted for the cow. The present Maharaja performed the ceremony in 1894. There has been much discussion as to its significance. It has been held to be an expiatory ceremony as in the case quoted in Thurston's Ethnographical Notes, page 371. "The Tanjore Nayaker, having betrayed Madura and suffered for it, was told by his Brahman advisers that he had better be born again; so a colossal cow was cast in bronze and the Nayaker was shut up inside. The wife of his Brahman *guru* acted as nurse, received him in her arms, rocked him on her knees and caressed him on her breast and he tried to cry like a baby." Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo (Foster's Translation, page 172) asserts that Martanda Varma performed it in expiation for the burning of certain pagodas and combats the view of Niebuhr and Anquetil du Perron (which is also that of the text) that it was an "ennobling" ceremony. Shungoony Menon holds that it was merely a coronation ceremony and attacks the "ennobling" theory in the following vigorous language (History of Travancore, page 54). "The notion that by the performance of the Hiranya Garbhamu an individual could be raised in rank or caste is simply ridiculous. A Sudra or Samantha could not be raised to the rank of a Kshatria by any such process. If such a wished-for change could be effected, every rich and influential Sudra would have been raised to the rank of a Kshatria and some of the Kshatrias would have thought of transforming themselves into members of the twice-born class, Brahmans." The missionary Mateer, on the other hand, maintained the "ennobling" theory in his "Land of Charity" and replies as follows in his "Native Life in Travancore" (1883) to the attack in the "History of Travancore" (1878). "In the Land of Charity I have given my authority for the assertion that the intention of the ceremony is the regeneration of the Sudra King—a detailed description written by a Brahman who had access to the ceremonies, published on the spot and at the time and never repudiated nor rebutted." Finding neither Mr. Shungoony Menon's dogmatic assertions nor Mr. Mateer's authority altogether convincing, I have endeavoured to obtain more light from these Dutch records and have found two relevant passages. (1) In a letter from Travancore dated January 1753 cited in MS., No. 549, it is stated that since His Highness of Travancore has performed the ceremonies on account of his re-birth (Wedergeboorte) out of the golden calf and the assumption of the title of Colochegera Perumal or Emperor he has determined to live in alliance with the Honourable Company. The ceremony was accordingly held in 1753 to be both a regenerative and a coronation ceremony. (2) A more important passage occurs in MS. No. 281. Diary of Van Imhoff, 1739. On Friday the 27th of February 1739, the King of Travancore's ministers were discussing business with Van Imhoff at Tengapatnam. Under instructions from the King they applied to Van Imhoff for 10,000 kalanjus of gold "to enable him to fulfil his promises" in accordance with which he was to construct "a golden cow through whose mouth he was to go in and come out again at the tail in order to bear the title of Brahmin, which one of his ancestors held for himself through such a ceremony, while acquiring for his family, which was before of a lower kind (van minder zoort), the elevation to the Kshatria caste, His Highness wearing the thread on this account." His Highness however now wished to perform "a second ceremony in order that he himself and his whole family may be placed among Brahmins" (zig selfs en zijne geheele familie onder de Braminees gestelt te worden). Nothing could be clearer than this passage, which also seems to me to be of high evidential value being the observations of the King's own ministers written down on the day on which they were made by some disinterested European clerk. The passage should set this much debated question at rest. An early assertion that the King of Travancore was a Nair who sought to have himself converted into a Brahmin will be found in the *Viaggio all'Indie Orientali* of Father Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena (1683), page 238. "The King is by caste a Nair or soldier, but, desirous of ennobling himself, with a ridiculous invention he made himself a Brahmin."

He is moreover more or less devout in the practice of his religion as all Malabar princes eminently are. They hang so to speak on the lips of their priests; for although Travancore does not exactly reveal all his secrets to his priests, yet he often consults them, and I am very sure that they have considerable influence over him. This is the reason why I occasionally tried to corrupt one or other of them with presents, but I found I had made a mistake; they get so large a revenue from temples and fields—not to speak of constant extras—that it is not worth their while to compromise themselves, much less to be actually disloyal, for five or six thousand rupees.

His ministers or state servants are of three classes, namely, councillors, those who administer his finances and those who are stationed all over the country, and administer the districts. Of all these one is raised above all others in authority and is properly called "Dellawa," but is now no longer known under that name, because recently, two Dellawas having died shortly after each other, they do not care, on account of their usual superstition, to enter upon that office under that name but prefer the name of First Minister of State. It is he who has been present at the Court of Cochin, and here in town settling that dispute with the king of Cochin about territory.[1]

But at that time he was not yet a prime-minister, as he was only raised to that dignity in the year 1777 on the occasion of the suspicious and sudden death of the previous prime minister, which incident will be found related in detail in a special despatch to Batavia, dated the 28th August of the same year. This man is of his kind not unreasonable. We have very little to do with him except in very special cases—for it is only then that the prime minister is deputed—but as I was already acquainted with the man before my arrival here, and had maintained a friendship with him, I have had occasion since he became prime minister to correspond with him more confidentially than one could otherwise do with such a personage and so one can get little questions, which at times occur in the country, settled by sending him a simple message. Otherwise one is obliged to have the native chiefs continually written to, and, if this has no effect, the king himself. On this account I would advise every administrator here always to make the acquaintance of the prime minister. This is easily done by sending him a little present now and then and by obliging him with trifles for which he asks.

But the man with whom one out here has to deal most is a certain Cumara Pula (Pillai) who holds one of the most burdensome posts in the king's finance administration. For he directs not only the trade in Jaffnapatnam tobacco, but also the whole of the pepper trade, and therefore we call him the chief pepper purveyor.

He is a crafty, brutal and shameless person; but he is this only so far as you allow him to proceed in his own manner, while the better you understand how to keep him at a distance, the more manageable he becomes. He has also many enemies at the Court, but is able notwithstanding to hold his own. I must confess that I have not had any very special reason to complain of him, although I have occasionally had a little bone to pick with him. Among the documents appended to this memoir (No. 1), will be found a report by under-merchant and first interpreter Van Tongeren, about one case among others in which I had to do with him in the month of January 1772. He was at the bottom of it, having tried to use force in a question about the sale of tobacco in our territory, or more properly speaking in a garden which, although surrounded by the king's fields, is yet the property of the Company and is accordingly leased out for the Company's benefit. How this man must be dealt with can be seen by this instance. The people of Malabar spin things out as long as they can in dealing and in speaking and this

[1] The title assumed was that of Dewan, still held by the chief minister of the Maharaja of Travancore. Shungoony Menon's account of the change of the title will be found on page 211 of the History of Travancore. "This officer (Kesava Pillai) was a man of great ambition. He wished to have a more high sounding name than that of Delwah, a title which he thought was too antiquated for him. On this point he consulted his English friends and also the Nabob's officers at Madras and came to the conclusion of adopting the title of Dewan as in the Courts of the Mogul monarchs."

minister particularly so; their object is to divert you from the point at issue; so I have always received this minister kindly but indulged little in polite conversation and despatched briefly and in few words whatever had to be discussed, and whenever a sharp word or two had been spoken, I have always wound up the conversation with a smiling face. In this way I have always kept him manageable. As he can do much in the matter of the supplying of pepper he should be treated accordingly and even made a friend of. During my term of office he has already been dismissed twice for my formal satisfaction. For if I got only a small pepper-supply I made so much fuss about it that the king, having no other means of meeting my complaints, would put the blame on the pepper purveyor. His enemies at the court are in such a case usually the first to advise the king to dismiss him, and so it happens that he is just now out of the service again.

Another official, with whom one comes almost daily in contact, is the king's "Agent" so-called, by name Ananda Mallan. He usually resides here, has a finger in every pie, gives attention to everything that happens, receives advances in cash and fire-arms on credit, and as often as he receives orders from the court to bring anything forward he asks for an interview, or if you want to see him he will come to town when you send him word beforehand.

He is a cheerful man, easy to get on with, a Canarese by birth.

With regard to the king and his ministers, I have generally found that they are not only able, but also pretty self-possessed. They have entirely mastered their passions and can conceal even their dissatisfaction behind a smiling face just as if they had not been put out. I had also occasion to notice that they despise hasty, quick-tempered people. If one has the weakness of being a little hasty or quick-tempered, one should be on one's guard against it in their presence. However I have also found that there is no need to be reserved with them, but that it is even expedient to speak to them severely occasionally and tell them the truth point blank.

Our chief dealings with Travancore are in connection with pepper.

I have already remarked above that Travancore is obliged to supply us out of his hereditary territory with 3,000 candies at Rs. 65 a candy and out of his conquests with 2,000 candies at Rs. 55 a candy, but seldom complies in full, and supplies all the more to the English, and also exports much pepper to Coromandel both by sea and by land. It is not possible to say what considerable quantities of pepper are exported to Coromandel; for the proceeds of which, by the way, tobacco is brought back from Jaffnapatnam, which is the only tobacco the king allows in this country; he excludes all other tobacco and, as he fixes the price of this as he pleases, he makes a considerable amount out of it. [1]

It were to be wished that he could be prevented from sending that grain to Coromandel, but we are not able to prevent him because he exports the pepper, which he is unable to export by sea to Coromandel, on pack-oxen by the land route.

It is stipulated in the contract that a pass must be given to His Highness each time *after* his having supplied (*N.B.*—the *full* quantity) every 300 candies; whereupon he may export 100 candies to the south; this amounts then to ten passes for the 3,000 candies out of his own territory. But, as a rule, these ten passes used to be given to him before he had actually supplied the pepper, whether or not he had supplied the full quantity in the previous year. What is more passes have even been renewed, when they were out of date or more properly speaking, when he had been unable to use them during the previous year, and to this state of affairs he became quite accustomed.

[1] In 1853 it was reported that Travancore made from 10 to 12 lakhs a year out of the tobacco monopoly and that the State's profit was from 150 to 700 per cent. on the purchase price. The monopoly was abolished in 1862–1863 and an import duty substituted. The fisc lost for the moment but the State gained as the monopoly was attended by the usual evils, bad tobacco forced on the people, smuggling "the monster evil of monopoly," intrigues to get inferior tobacco accepted, corruption of officials, oppression of the people. The Madras Government had their own monopolies of tobacco at one time. An official document of 1858 says: "Already in Malabar alone, where in 1852–1853 Rs. 5,60,112 was sacrificed at a blow, the revenue from permanent sources has been found to increase in the ratio of a lakh to a lakh and a half a year." In Travancore not only tobacco but pepper, timber, cardamoms, bees' wax, ivory, etc., used to be Government monopolies.

This is extremely detrimental to our supply; for in this way he first exports as much pepper to Coromandel by land on the strength of his passes as he possibly can, next gives the English their supply for Rs. 80 a candy, not to speak of that which he supplies to the Danes at Colletta (Colachel) also at much higher rates, or sells at still higher rates to others there; and then the Company gets what is left; which, especially in times of unseasonable rain or drought (the causes of crop failures), is very little.

And yet he had got so accustomed to this that he used to send for his ten pepper passes every year just before the time of supplying.

It has been brought home to His Highness more than once by means of letters and conversations with his ministers that he must supply the pepper, otherwise he would receive no passes. On the 5th March 1772, I wrote for the first time to His Highness about this among other things as follows:—

"I had long had it under consideration to reclaim as many pepper-passes of last year, as there was less pepper supplied, or to give no fresh passes this year till the short quantity in the last supply had been furnished, and already had it in my mind to refuse passes altogether in advance, but only to grant a pass after every 300 candies had been supplied, and for this purpose to send some passes to Porca and Calicoilau, in order that one pass might be given for every 300 candies supplied *de facto*, but Cumara Pula has most earnestly requested me not to do so with solemn promises and loud assurances that not only 3,000 candies from the south but also the deficiency of the last year will be supplied without fail in future; so in the firm belief that there will be no shortage henceforth I have given him the pepper passes applied for."

But he did not care; for though he answered the letter, in which I had written this, he did not touch at all on this passage. How far we should take our stand on it and insist may be seen in a special despatch from Their Right Worshipfuls, dated 1st October 1771, giving full instructions on this subject. It should be kept secret.

However for several years now, I have been playing my line gently and, with the King's full consent, have only issued six or eight passes according to the supply sent to us. And thus it has come about that His Highness dares not even ask for ten passes after failing to send the full supply of pepper, but himself fixes his requisition for passes according to the pepper he has supplied. The renewal of old pepper passes I entirely abolished.

Although the king of Travancore is very negligent in supplying the pepper, yet we ought to insist upon it as something we must have without fail, in fact we must show such energy in our treatment of the matter as to make His Highness a little ashamed of himself or embarrassed, as has happened before, and may be seen in the letters to Batavia, particularly in those of the 25th March 1773; 28th March 1774; 1st January and 18th November 1775 and 24th April 1778.

Meanwhile we receive hardly anything, or at least very little of the 2,000 candies of pepper due from the conquered territory. With regard to this the king of Travancore appeals to the clause in the 4th and 6th article of the treaty, which runs, that he is to supply these 2,000 candies of pepper not only out of the territory already conquered, but also out of territory that he still might conquer; he pleads that his conquered territory does not yield so much pepper and that he has had no opportunity as yet to conquer more territory in the north; that if he had been able or had been allowed to bring under his sway the kingdoms of Cochin and the Zamorin he would have been able to supply more pepper; that he could not comfortably conquer the kingdom of the Zamorin without first bringing under his sway that of Cochin, because the latter lies between him and the Zamorin, and that he continues to spare Cochin and leave her in peace out of respect for the Company.

But these are only excuses; for it is well known what rich and fertile pepper lands he had before the conclusion of the treaty, and still more what he afterwards conquered, whilst the king of Cochin also now has to send the pepper that grows in the land still left to him to Travancore; so that he receives at present all the

pepper which grows in the whole of the Cochin kingdom and therefore could easily supply the full amount of 5,000 candies out of his conquered territory alone.[1]

We must therefore not let the matter rest but each time insist upon the carrying out of the treaty in order that he may not think that he can satisfy us with 3,000 candies out of his hereditary territory and in order to maintain our claim on account of the successive short supplies of the 5,000 candies.

It is true that he has occasionally supplied something of those 2,000 candies at Cranganore at Rs. 55 a candy, but so little that since the conclusion of the treaty it has amounted on a average only to about 73 candies annually; for the pepper which he gathers in on this side is sent to his magazines in the south, and it is impossible for us to prevent it. For this reason it has struck me at times that it would be better to pay him Rs. 65 for this quantity also of pepper, provided he supplies the full 3,000 candies in the south and these 2,000 candies nett in the north.

Probably he would not hesitate to promise this, and perhaps even hold to his word the first, or at the utmost the second year, but later on he would reduce the supply to the old footing.

Besides, I am afraid that this would be to make a breach in the treaty, and that we would, without meaning it, be giving him occasion to ask more for the pepper out of his hereditary territory also, whilst the least increase in the prices, according to my opinion (as long as we keep to the present system) would be too dangerous and would give him an open door for gradually raising his demand until he asks as much as he gets from the English. For it is with this king as the saying is "if you give him an inch he will take an ell." And then what would be the use of the treaty to us? Not to speak of the burdens, which we have to bear here as against others if we could not obtain the pepper cheaper than they.

My predecessor has, it is true, suggested a means to compel the king of Travancore to supply more pepper, at least to make him understand that he cannot do without the Company, or that the Company can make itself unpleasant to him, by hindering his purchase of tobacco at Jaffnapatnam, which he must absolutely have and can scarcely do without in his country. And this could be done by the Company either by having the tobacco bought up at Jaffnapatnam and sent here, or by having it destroyed.

On this suggestion Their Right Worshipfuls have not declared themselves, possibly for fear that it would end in causing the estrangement of Travancore; or possibly also for fear that the execution of such a proposal would reduce the revenue from duties on the export of tobacco from Jaffnapatnam. In my opinion not only would the revenue from duties on tobacco suffer, but the tobacco trade at Jaffnapatnam would also be seriously injured or there may be other objections still.

It is well known that Travancore is in the habit of sending pepper to the coast of Coromandel by means of native vessels annually under his passes. There the pepper is sold according to market-rates for high prices and the king's brokers lay out the money they get for it on Jaffnapatnam tobacco, which they purchase at Jaffnapatnam on their way back, and charge the king 16 pagodas for every 300 pounds; this is 23, 33 or 45 per cent. more than the usual price of tobacco at Jaffnapatnam if it is bought first hand; for as far as I know the first quality is 13, the second 12 and the third 11 pagodas the 300 pounds.

We might well try if the king could not be moved to supply the Company with the pepper which he is accustomed to export annually to Coromandel, under promise not to pay for this pepper in cash, but in Jaffnapatnam tobacco in such manner that he would get for it as much tobacco as he used to get before, and so make the same profits with less danger and trouble.

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[1] Travancore may really have had some difficulty in supplying 5,000 candies. In 1860, when pepper was still a monopoly, 5,000 candies only were returned. Much more was doubtless produced, but the pepper monopoly was reported to be the least successful (as well as the most injurious) of the state monopolies. There was much smuggling and smuggled pepper was exchanged for smuggled Jaffna tobacco. The monopoly system probably worked no better in 1780 than in 1860. It was abolished in 1860 and an export duty was then imposed. 15,000 to 20,000 candies are now exported from Travancore per annum.

For this purpose it would be necessary that the Company should buy up all the tobacco which Jaffnapatnam exports, but leave to the Ceylon merchants as much as would be necessary for the consumption of the island itself. If now as much were paid for tobacco at Jaffnapatnam as the planters are used to realise, and it is then taken over by the Company at a decent price, and the usual duty is paid to the contractor of the tobacco customs at Jaffnapatnam (so that no harm would be done to Jaffnapatnam either with regard to the tobacco customs or the welfare of the inhabitants), it would be possible to sell the pepper obtained in this manner, if not at a clear profit of 20 per cent., at least of 15 per cent.—not to speak of the benefit to the trade of Cochin.

The freight from Ceylon here would not make this tobacco noticeably dearer; for it would be brought in time from Jaffnapatnam to Colombo, if not in the Company's shallops, by means of native vessels, and from there it could be conveyed to this place without any expense by means of ships and vessels which come here annually in any case for pepper, and mostly in ballast.

If in this way all the tobacco of Jaffnapatnam were delivered to the Company, and all that is not consumed in Ceylon had to pass through our hands here, then it would be always in our power to hold Travancore to the supply of pepper.[1]

As soon as the Company obtained large supplies of pepper by means of this tobacco as explained above, so much more pepper could be sold here, much trade would be transferred to Cochin, and the improvement of the Company's trade and position in Malabar would therewith be achieved.

But there may be objections to this plan also, *e.g.*, that the king of Travancore is too cunning not to understand that the game would then be lost and it might possibly only make him distrust us. However it is a proposal that may be kept in reserve for future consideration.

If the present policy is maintained the best plan is to press His Highness hard without intermission for the supply of pepper; to make severe observations about the smallness of the supply, and now and then to speak out our minds plainly; to make no promise that we are unable to keep but to refuse gently in such cases and persuasively while maintaining faithfully anything promised; to insist upon nothing that cannot be sustained; furthermore to please this prince in other respects as much as possible; to hold to our friendship with him; to keep up our

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[1] The counter-monopoly was tried by the British Government in Ceylon and proved a failure. The following is an abstract of official documents on the subject:—

The sale of Jaffna tobacco was confined to Travancore, Sumatra and Galle, Travancore taking three-fifths of the entire quantity in the market: 'so his (the Raja's) Agents, by keeping back their purchases, could command the price. The Jaffna merchants and cultivators—poor—in debt for advances received for tobacco to be delivered at the export season, could not establish a combination against them, and were entirely at their mercy and compelled to submit to terms barely sufficient to keep the land in cultivation. The Travancore price was the standard for the market, and the Raja's monopoly was an oppressive weight on the prosperity of the Peninsula." The Ceylon Government, having failed to induce Travancore to deal more favourably in the matter, endeavoured to improve the condition of the market by putting a heavy export duty on tobacco sent to Travancore; but this reacted on the Jaffna merchants and cultivators in that "the Raja, reluctant to raise the price in his own territory for fear of diminishing the consumption, shifted as much of the new duties as he could on them, by reducing the purchase price, which, having the command of the market, he was enabled to do. So great was the consequent distress that the Colonial Government resorted to the questionable expedient of setting up a counter-monopoly against the Raja. The sale of tobacco was prohibited except to Agents of Government, who received it raw and prepared it for exportation. . . ." This counter-monopoly was introduced through the advocacy of Mr. Turnour [Government Agent, Jaffna (?)].

E.M.C., 503, 30th November 1852.

Commenting on it, a report to the Ceylon Commissioner of Revenue, dated 13th April 1812, said: "Mr. Turnour did not foresee that his plan would cause a diminution of demand. His opinion was as follows: 'It may be supposed that the Raja of Travancore would feel the inclination and also possess the means of thwarting such a plan, but this is only an imaginary danger.' The danger proved to be anything but imaginary: "Government by purchasing tobacco in its raw state turned out of the trade all the merchants and brokers with the capital which had been employed in making advances: less capital circulated, less land, consequently, was cultivated: the cultivators could no longer sell their tobacco on the field, but were compelled to carry it to the Government stores and receive payment after delivery. The Raja, certain of a fixed quantity of tobacco at a stated season, threw the Jaffna vessels out of employ by employing his own; the gold which for six or seven months previous to the export season flowed into Jaffna from Travancore and Acheen, ceased: the Government paid for the tobacco in the Ceylon Paper Currency, which was not available for remittances to the Coromandel Coast for rice and cloth." This Ceylon counter-monopoly (started about 1812) was based on the assumption that Jaffna tobacco was absolutely necessary to Travancore and that the people were so devoted to it that any attempt to change their tastes by substituting another leaf "might be attended not only by loss of revenue, but even by insurrection; that, in short, Jaffna had a 'natural monopoly' in this tobacco and that it was indispensable to Travancore." The Ceylon Government kept up their protective monopoly for 12 years with the result, as stated in a report, dated 7th July 1824, that "the monopoly decreased the supply of tobacco to Travancore and tended to lessen the demand. Other tobacco, flavoured with that of Jaffna, was superseding it." Ceylon abolished her monopoly in 1824.

correspondence with him both by letters and messages; to supply him now and then, as we are bound by treaty,[1] with a few fire-arms and similar articles; and if he asks for money, to satisfy him as far as possible with advances according to the measure of the pepper supply, provided however that everything is reckoned up at the settling of the pepper-accounts.

With regard to advances, however, one must be careful and in case of large demands he must be dexterously diverted in such a way that it does not irritate him, or stop the supply of pepper. You must act in this according to times, cases and circumstances, and I closed not a single pepper account with him as long as he was to the bad or ever so little a sum to the good, which was then paid over to him as may be seen from the annual balance of account inserted in the successive resolutions; but it is of the greatest importance that the accounts should be squared with him annually; for otherwise one year runs into the other, and confusion results.

Finally I may say of this king that however bold and enterprising he may be, he has not altogether lost all reverence for the Company, but on the contrary still respects it considerably. Travancore is not so formidable and unmanageable as he is sometimes made out to be; and when Nabob Hydor Alykhan attacked our possessions and was for pushing on further, I became better acquainted with Travancore, saw he was not the man he has been given out to be and found him on the whole not unmanageable. It is true that he is bold and tries at times how far the Company's indulgence goes; but if we show our teeth now and then, he will not carry his boldness too far. For if he did not stand in awe of the Company, he would not, when this last treaty was being drawn up, have insisted so strongly and made it almost an absolute condition that the Company was not to hinder him in bringing under his sway the remaining Malabar rulers.

At least as long as we do not support a bad cause, nor offend him first or on our side give him cause for embitterment, I do not believe that he will dare to break with the Company. He knows by experience that the Dutch are the most reasonable people he has ever had to deal with. He is also prudent enough to keep us as a counterpoise against the English, and, in any case, why should the Company offend him first?

The Company has a good name which is worth keeping. Travancore likes to be flattered a little and that is easily done, it costs nothing, and is a thing natural in many people, but particularly in the Malabar princes. But before leaving this king, I have something to mention about a claim which he thought he had on the three islands known by the name of Mutucunu.

Mutucunu Islands.

They now belong to the Company, and are leased out for Rs. 1,150 a year.

With regard to them, it is necessary to know that the Zamorin, at the last peace made in the year 1758, agreed to make good to the Company the expenses of the war and further, for damages sustained, a sum of Rs. 65,000, of which more than half had been paid in instalments by the year 1762, when there was still due about Rs. 30,000, but since then we have had no chance of getting in the rest.

But as he was entering into a war at that time with Travancore and the king of Cochin, and was still more strongly pressed by us for our money, he made us an offer of the islands of Mutucunu belonging to the kingdom of Paru, which had been previously taken by him from the king of Cochin, as security for our money or part of it.

It was accordingly resolved to take these islands as security on an estimated value of Rs. 16,000. But it was considered at the same time to be expedient to inform Travancore about this at a meeting with His Highness at Chertalle. He declared that the Honourable Company could freely do as proposed, as may be seen in the minutes of that conference.

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[1] The 20th article of the Treaty of 1753 bound the Dutch to supply Travancore annually with Rs. 12,000 worth of fire-arms and military stores, each musket at 7½ rupees, etc.

So these islands were accepted by the Honourable Company as security for Rs. 16,000 to be deducted from the Zamorin's debts on condition that the Company should enjoy the fruits and profits and that, if the king failed to redeem them for the stipulated sum after the lapse of two years, they would become the property of the Honourable Company.

When the time had passed, the Zamorin was reminded, but declared he was unable to redeem the islands.

When Travancore got scent of this, he formulated a claim to these islands on the ground that the Zamorin had never been the legal possessor of the kingdom of Paru, and so could not legally give away territory belonging to that kingdom.

And although it was advanced against his claim that he had consented to the taking over of the islands, yet it does not alter the fact that at the time of sowing and harvest Travancore always imposes "interdicts" as they are called here on them; that is, prohibitions to sow and reap.[1]

This went on till the year 1766 and 1767, when interdicts were again issued, which were then openly set at nought by people from Cranganore, who had been sent by us for the purpose. It was at the same time pointed out to the King of Travancore that this was not the way to settle matters in dispute, but if His Highness was of opinion that he had some right to those islands, the affair should be examined by both parties; and since then no more interdicts have been laid on the islands as far as I know, nor has other similar improper action been taken in respect of them.

But because it is thought that Travancore, who seldom forgets anything but always knows well how to make the best of his chances, will not so easily perhaps let this claim slip away from him, but when occasion offers will formulate it again, their Right Worshipfuls have given special orders about this in a separate letter, dated 1st October 1771, the contents of which are to be kept secret and to which I refer; though it is feared that the King of Travancore, if he were in possession of these islands, which are situated in the middle of the river in the fairway just opposite Cranganore, and built a fort on them, would then also claim the same rights over the river as the Company alone has possessed till now.[2]

I quite believe that if he had Mutucunu in his possession, he would build a fort there; for since Nabob Hyder Alykhan tried to force our fort of Cranganore, and to break through there, both Travancore and the King of Cochin have had me besought several times most fervently to build a strong fort at Mutucunu on the side of the Cranganore river to prevent the enemy, if he should break through, from crossing over to Mutucunu and afterwards passing on to Aycotta or to the island of Baypin. For it was understood that the enemy would follow this route, and not that through the creek behind Mutucunu, because Travancore has the fort of Curiapally at the end of this creek. It is this fort about which that well-known incident in the year 1769 is recorded; and which was built by the king willy-nilly the Company, notwithstanding it tried to prevent him seriously and even by force. But now judging *a posteriori* we see that it can be of great use in the circumstances of the present time not only in case of retreat, but also in order to check the march of the enemy along that route; and he still declares that he did not build that fortress for any other reason but to serve generally for the common defence and particularly to cover his country on that side, and to stop the enemy if he should manage to slip through Cranganore, just as for the same reason he had built another fort of mud and wood, a little over an hour's walk to the west, on the same land on which Curiapally is built, opposite the leper hospital at the end of his line of defence, to withstand the enemy pursuing his way from or past Mutucunu at the particular spot where the river is narrow. He has since provided this little fort with a stone revetment; from which in the circumstances of the times we could not divert him, because it is on his own territory and because it

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[1] *Cf.* Logan's Malabar Manual I. 374. "The Nambiars imposed an interdict by tying a bough to a tree after the country fashion." Also Father Vincenzo Maria (1683), p. 252: "To shut up a house it is sufficient to place on it a green branch. The same happens with entire populations. A branch in the middle of the market captures all the inhabitants."

[2] The Dutch Company levied tolls on passing vessels

serves for the general defence. If then Travancore should obtain possession of the above-mentioned islands of Mutucunu, he would undoubtedly build a fort on them.

However that he would only in such a case claim rights over the river, or that otherwise he would not, is too strong a supposition. For in the south about three (Dutch) miles from the town (*i.e.*, Cochin), where the river (backwater) is at its narrowest, he also has three forts; and to the north of Cochin on the road to Cranganore at the southern promontory of Paru, near the village Chatanatty, he has another fort; and so with the one opposite the leper hospital and Curiapally he has six forts on the river, besides the two which lie opposite Cranganore and which also belong to his line of defence. So if he wished to contest the river with us he could have done so long ago, without waiting just for the possession of Mutucunu, unless the reference is only to the river-rights to the Cranganore river on that (*i.e.*, the Cranganore) side; but then the same apprehension might have been felt when these islands still belonged to the Zamorin, with whom we were continually at variance. The whole affair simply depends on our relations with Travancore. It is not likely that Travancore will break with us, the more so as we are so intimately united with him since the enterprises of the Nabob; and hence his forts in the north are really useful for the common defence without any expense on our part, while on the other hand, if war should break out between us, we should not be any the worse off just because he had a fort on Mutucunu; for he could equally well prevent us making use of the river at any other place.

The principal question is only whether he can justly claim the islands, provided he makes restitution to us of the Rs. 16,000 paid for them, and whether we, in case he formulates his claim in earnest, could reasonably refuse them him or not. From the description which I have given of the origin of this claim, it is clear in how far the same is just or unjust; at least it is my opinion that the orders of Their Right Worshipfuls about these islands are the most prudent orders that could be given in the case under the system followed by the Hon'ble Company on this coast.

I have lately had three *paggers* (stockades) of mud and cocoanut trees constructed on the islands of Mutucunu and connected by means of dams so that they communicate with one another. They are, besides, divided in such a way that they not only serve as a support one to the other, but also that the eastern dam is commanded by the fort of Cranganore and the western by our post at Aycotta, as may be seen more fully in my separate letters to Batavia, dated 2nd January and 7th May 1780. Travancore is very pleased with this. And his earnest and continual solicitations to us to construct fortifications on those islands which are in dispute, or at least which were claimed by him formerly, may certainly be looked upon as a silent withdrawal of his claim; for otherwise he would undoubtedly have taken steps, or made proposals, to build a fort on them himself.

But as I dare not guarantee that in the future he will not claim these islands any more, and the cost of the said paggers amounting to Rs. 7,000 must also be added to the above-mentioned sum of Rs. 16,000, so that these islands have cost the Company together Rs. 23,000, I have thought it might be useful to make mention of this matter here, because the Malabaris seldom let slip claims which they have once made, but keep them always in reserve in order to make them serve as often as an opportunity offers.

I mind me now how at the beginning of my term of office the ministers of Travancore, when we were settling a certain old claim, known under the name of the old Attinga debt, which the Company had against Travancore, made it a matter of friendly reproach in private conversation after a meeting which I had with them regarding this affair, that the Company, like the Malabaris, does not forget old claims, for it was one of about 80 years' standing;[1] but as this debt was, as a matter of fact, due I thought it unnecessary to make any answer and only went on talking. It was sufficient for me that the Company at last got satisfaction in the matter. With regard to the settlement of this affair, please refer to

[1] It dated from 1695 A.D., in which year the Queen of Attungal agreed to pay 80,000 kalyan fanams compensation for an attack made on August the 28th 1694, on the Dutch factory at Tengapatnam. See p. 54 above.

the secret resolution passed here on the 22nd July 1771, and also to what was written about it to Batavia in a separate letter of the 7th January 1772, and also to the minutes of the conferences held at the time on the 13th, 14th, 22nd, 23rd, 25th and 26th July and 9th and 10th August 1771. It would be not unserviceable to read the last, because you will not only find there the real nature of this debt, as being a debt, which genuinely remained due to the Company from of old from the kingdom of Attinga, and which debt the Company has continued to claim since the kingdom of Attinga was united to the kingdom of Travancore and has made the subject of special stipulation in successive treaties, but also because you will see what patience and what kind of arguments we have to make use of, in order to treat affairs of that nature with Malabar ministers. It is for these reasons that I have specially had the discussions, with all the circumstances, recorded.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGDOM OF COCHIN.

Now follows the second kingdom of Malabar, viz., that of the king of Cochin. It was formerly a large and important kingdom, but in course of time it became very small through the conquests of the Zamorin, and especially after the year 1753 through the conquests of the king of Travancore ; as has been shown in the first chapter about Malabar in general.

The kings have generally been greatly devoted to their religion, and at the same time simple in state affairs, always letting themselves be led by their ministers, so that the Company has usually had much trouble with this kingdom. For at the time that the Company still held the balance of power between the native princes, it was continually intriguing with other kings, and often made false steps, and then when it got into some trouble it had recourse to the Company, which then often found it very difficult to put matters right again.

The king who reigned at the beginning of my term of office died in the year 1775, and was succeeded, according to the laws of the country, by his sister's eldest son. He mostly resides in his palace at Tripontarra (Tirupunittura) about three Dutch miles from here, but every now and then he stays for some weeks or days in his palace on the river half an hour's walk from this town, next to the village where the white Jews live.

The visits of or meetings with this king were formerly troublesome. But I have initiated a more familiar manner of intercourse to wean him from that stiffness and awkwardness which otherwise usually accompany meetings with native kings. We have often even visited each other without any ceremonial.[1]

The affairs of this kingdom are as a rule administered by the Palyet [Palyat Achan]. He is a considerable landowner, permanent commander-in-chief and prime-minister of the kingdom of Cochin. He is hereditary chief of Chenotta [Chennamangalam] and of a part of the island of Baypin [Vypeen]. In both these places he has palaces of sorts, but he usually resides at Chenotta which is near Cranganore, or more properly speaking to the east of it on the other side of the river near the northern extremity of Paru [Parur]. The little old kingdom of Valliavattam [Villavattat] also belongs to him. It is an island a little to the north from here near the southern extremity of Paru. He got this in ancient times from the king of Cochin, who had inherited it from a Nair chief. The estate of Mulucarre situated to the east of Tritsjur [Trichur] at the northern extremity of the kingdom of Cochin also belongs to him. This estate belonged formerly to another branch of the Palyets, named Mannacotta-Atjen [Achan] since extinct, and so it has now passed into the hands of the other branch to which the present Palyet belongs.

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[1] The following is an account, extracted from Canter Visscher, of the ceremonial observed about 1720 A.D.:—

"When a Raja visits the town the Commandeur receives him at his residence at the foot of the stairs, and "leads him up by the right hand. If a Prince come to visit him, he is received on the steps ; a caimal or other grandee "the Commandeur receives in the hall, where he makes him take a seat. At their first entrance into the town, the "Rajas are conducted from the gate by two members of the political council, with the attendance of armed troops. "One member of the Council and the chief interpreter perform this office for an inferior prince. They are conducted "out of the town in the same manner, the prince walks in the middle, or on the right hand of his conductor. They "are also saluted with artillery, the number of discharges being proportioned to their rank. For the Raja of Cochin, "eleven salutes are fired, for the other Rajas of the kingdom nine, for the petty Rajas seven, and for other members "of the Royal families, five or three.

"When the Commandeur goes to Court, he is received by the Raja at the foot of the stairs, unless that Prince "is in mourning, in which case the office is performed by the second Prince, or any other who may happen to be at "Court. When deputies from the political council go to court, they are accompanied by two servants, and may sit "down with their heads covered ; but the chief interpreter must stand uncovered.

"When a new Commandeur and Raja meet for the first time presents are exchanged between them ; the "Commandeur presenting gifts prepared by the Company for the purpose, while the Raja loads him with gold chains "and bracelets, and presents are distributed among his suite in proportion to their rank. The Rajas fasten these "bracelets with their own hands on the arms of those to whom they present them, which, as they are rather small, "often occasions pain, as I know by experience. Some of the bracelets are plain, others chased. The Company's "gifts consist of stuffs, sugar, rosewater, spices, etc. But as the Rajas generally sell them under their real value, "they would be better pleased if money was given them instead, as they deem it no disgrace to receive pecuniary "gifts."

A somewhat similar ceremonial is observed at the present day when visits are publicly exchanged by the Viceroy or the Governor of Madras and the Raja of Cochin.

This chief of Baypin and Chenotta is, as such, under the special protection of the Company. For when we were engaged in conquering this coast, he placed himself immediately under the Company and surrendered his person, land and subjects to the Company by a written deed of surrender; which surrender was also accepted by the late Mr. Van Goens on the 12th March 1661 on board "the Muscaatboom" as may be seen from the deed of surrender and empowerment inserted here below for perusal:—

"I, Palyet Come Menone, Chief of the island of Baypin, being in this position "of embarrassment: to wit that the Portuguese and other enemies round about "have done great injury to my land and my subjects, and acted as enemies and "harassed them; for which reasons finding myself powerless to save myself and "stand against the said enemies and compelled to look out for a powerful nation "which will maintain and protect my land and subjects; with this object in view, "I seek and accept the Honourable United Netherlands East Indian Company "for my protectors in order that they may in time of need protect and shield me, "including the king Zamorin[1], against all mischievous people and enemies of my "state, herewith yielding and surrendering to the same Hon'ble Company my "person, land and subjects.

"The Council of this defensive fleet, in view of the instant suit, and earnest "persistence of the Palyet Come Menone, Chief of the island of Baypin and "Chenotty, has, with the approbation of the Right Worshipful the "Governor-General and Council of India, taken him under the protection of the "United Netherlands East India Company always so far only as the Hon'ble Company "has power and occasion with God's help, provided he assures us on his part, that "neither he nor his legal successors shall ever make a treaty or alliance with the "Portuguese, directly or indirectly, under such penalty as justice will require, and "more especially on the security of his land, person, subjects and property, belike "as he has made surrender of these to us in a separate ola. On board ship 'the "Muscaatboom', 12th March 1661. (At the bottom of the page) Conditionally on "the approbation of the Worshipful Members of the Council of India. (Signed) "Ryklof van Goens." (In the margin) The Hon'ble Company's seal and underneath this: "By order of his Worship." (Signed. M. Huysman, sworn clerk.)

The last Palyet and Prime Minister of the king of Cochin, who died on the 17th June in the year 1779, was a statesman and always full of plans to restore his king. I refer in this connection to what has been written about it to Batavia in separate letters of 5th May 1777 and especially in one dated the 24th April 1778.

Now that the king of Cochin has lost most of his pepper lands, we do not receive pepper from him any longer. The pepper which he still possesses, he has to supply to Travancore, as has already been mentioned in the chapter on Travancore. Hence we have not so much business with him now as we had formerly except indeed the ordinary and daily country affairs which are sometimes many and troublesome, and as a rule turn upon the Native or Roman Christians living in his country and the Canarins over whom the Company exercises a protectorate.

The protection of the Christians is a delicate matter in which one has, so to speak, to give and take, because experience teaches that most of the Christians rely too much on the protection of the Company and try with the help of this influence to get out of paying what they are bound to pay their king. On the other hand, however, as the Christians are much despised by the heathen they would have to suffer much humiliation and ill-treatment if we did not protect them. They are no doubt under the protection of the Company, but are in reality subjects of the king, to wit those who reside in his territory, because there are also many Christians, who live in the territory of the Company, and are, therefore, *per se* subjects of the Company. It is the same with the Native Christians under the king of Travancore in so far as they inhabit territory which formerly belonged to the king of Cochin, but has since been conquered by the king of Travancore. The Company retains its protectorate over them.

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[1] The passage is not quite clear in the original. Apparently the reference is to a prior engagement of the Palyet with the Zamorin. Both these chiefs joined the Dutch in 1662-63 and assisted them against the Portuguese. In the 9th article of a treaty with the Zamorin, dated 7th of March 1664, it is stipulated: "In this treaty shall be included the king of Cranganore, the Palyet, etc." (See Valentijn, Malabar.)

The Company's protectorate over the Christians pursuant on the 9th article of the treaty [1] between the Company and the king of Cochin concluded the 22nd March 1663, consists in this : "*that they are under the jurisdiction of the Company, and if they commit a crime, are punished only by the Company.*"

But this protection is imperceptibly pushed further, so that if they are obstructed in the exercise of their religion, or ill-treated in other matters and come and complain to the Company or seek relief the Company espouses their cause and may be induced to take their cases to heart and make even the king or his ministers listen to reason.

Much depends on the influence an administrator here has over the king, and the article may be more or less extended accordingly, because one might insist too strongly on what cannot with any real right be maintained.

Besides the above-mentioned protection, Christian subjects have the privilege of only paying half the usual taxes to the king. Heathen subjects at once come under the protection of the Company on conversion ; with this difference, however, that they must still pay the same taxes to the king as they did, when they were heathens, according to the ninth article of another treaty of the 25th February 1664.

I have found that some persons become Christians only to escape some punishment or other to which they have become liable for crimes committed, which are punished by the heathens more severely than by us, *e.g.*, shooting a cow dead, although without premeditation, is punished without mercy by death, whereas the murderer of a human being may possibly escape with a heavy fine if he has money, or with being sold as a slave.

Experience has also taught me that a good many persons become Christians under the impression that they may still hope for the privilege of paying less taxes, but I would never approach the king in such cases, because I thought it to be unreasonable, and that no good would come of it. At present the king does not prevent anybody becoming a Christian, and tolerates the Roman churches in his country ; but if the making of Christians become prejudicial to his revenues, then you would soon see a persecution of the Christians, or at least obstruction of the work of conversion.

The Roman Padres must undoubtedly have talked big of the protection, which the Christians here enjoy, in their letters to Rome ; for in the year 1773 two priests came to me on a commission from the Bishop of Verapoly in order to compliment me in the name of His Holiness the Pope of Rome. When they had finished their commission, they let me read the letter, which the Pope had written to the Bishop and of which I asked them for a duplicate to keep for myself ; of which a copy (as it is written in Latin) has been placed among the enclosures to this work (Appendix No. 2) for inspection. The contents are to this effect :

To the Rev. Brother,
Bishop of Areopolis
and Vicar Apostolic
of Malabar.

Clement P.P. XIV.

"Greetings to our Reverend Brother : our beloved son Stephen Borgia, "Secretary to the Congregation for the Propagation of Christianity, has communi- "cated to us in detail the attention paid, and the trouble taken by the Dutch "Governor for the safety of the Christians, who are yonder. And as such Christ- "ian acts of kindness undoubtedly concern us greatly, and as on their account we "are indebted to him, so is it our earnest desire that at least our feelings "of gratitude for the same be made known and clear to this man. Therefore to

[1] The treaty is given in extenso by Va'entijn. He dates it (wrongly) 10th not 22nd March. The 9th article runs :

"All the Christians who have been of old under the town of Cochin and they that live along the strand shall remain only in the matter of jurisdiction under the Judges of the Hon'ble Company in Cochin which is subordinate to the Governor of Ceylon."—The Palyat Achan possesses a copper-plate counterpart which has been recently published as Travancore Archæological Series, No. IV.

"show our gratitude we have desired hereby to recommend Your Reverence, to "assure him of our grateful sentiments in the most forcible and most striking "manner, and at the same time to testify that we feel ourselves so much the more "indebted to him for what he has done as we flatter ourselves that he will continue "in this way to lay the Christians and us further under obligation.

"Finally we bestow upon you, reverend brother, together with the nations "entrusted to your care, as a pledge of our Papal benevolence, the Apostolic "Blessing.

"(Underneath)

"Given at Rome the 23rd July 1772.

"In the fourth year of our Papal "reign.

"The present copy agrees in everything with the original brief. Given, "at Rome, from the house of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of "Christianity.

"(Signed) Stephen Borgia of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of "the Faith, Secretary."

The protection of the Canarins [1] is a little different from the protection the Company exercises over the Christians, and relates more to their civil differences. This may be seen in its details in a separate despatch of the 4th March 1772 to Batavia dealing with the settling of the dispute with the king about the piece of land here.

Since the question about this and about the jurisdiction over the Canarins, and also about the toll which is levied by the king outside the town at Mattanchery, has been decided, I have had no difficulties of any importance in the matter of the Canarins. But, one must always be careful, and take measures in this matter, according to the circumstances and the cases, which every now and then occur. At any rate the Company has since that time exercised even more authority over the Canarins than before, and the king has put up with it; possibly because we went to work with discretion and he is satisfied with the Canarins being nominally under him. For although authority over these people in the settling of their cases is left to the king with certain restrictions, and especially with the restriction that they may make complaints against the king to the Hon'ble Company, yet it is necessary for us every now and then to make good our claim to the supreme authority reserved to us over them, especially in cases, in which it is noticed that the Canarins get no justice from the king, whether it be in a suit for debt or other disputes, in order that it may be clear to all that right and justice are practised by the Company. For it is on this coast nothing new with the native kings that if two persons come to complain, the one who offers the most money for a favourable decision is held to be in the right, although he may have the worst case in the world. I never would allow such things, and if I came to hear of them, I would stand up against it with all energy, of however little importance the affair might sometimes be. In the beginning this gave me much trouble, because the Canarins have innumerable dealings with the people. It is true that they are the most consummate cheats among the people of Malabar. They do much retailing in the streets, like the Chetties and Moors of Ceylon and the common Jews in the Netherlands. But they are absolutely necessary here, and almost the whole of the retail trade is in their hands down to that in the smallest articles, and the necessaries of life (except live-stock, because trading therein is contrary to their religion and therefore the black Jews take it to market) can be had almost only from them. They have their bazaar in their quarter not far from town, and little stalls everywhere else if there is but a little space anywhere outside or inside the town, and so their buying and selling, exchanging, lending or borrowing among both white and black people proceeds daily; and hence it is but natural that disputes and complaints should constantly arise, which become at times such a tangle that the greatest patience is required to discover the real origin of the dispute. In fine the

[1] The Canarins are Konkani [Konnini] Brahmins and Kudumi Chetties from the Konkani country.

Canarins have continual dealings with our inhabitants and they with them and their affairs and complaints cannot properly be entrusted to a Court where for gifts and presents one can obtain a sentence according to one's liking. And as this community is really a "malum necessarium" here, it is necessary on the one hand to continue to secure them justice, but on the other hand to punish them severely if they are caught setting up a monopoly or playing tricks with slaves, cheating and roguery. With regard to other cases, which have reference to old customs and privileges of the king, *e.g.*, the small revenue of their bazaar outside the town, the administration of their pagoda or temple, the part of the inheritance, which after death goes to the king, no hearing should be given to the Canarins, but the cases should be thrown out at once, as concerning matters in which they cannot hope for interference or assistance, and, if we do not give in to them in cases of this nature, then the king will not take it amiss if we trouble ourselves with their other complaints. The reason why the king took it so to heart in the year 1770, when we meant to take away from him his jurisdiction over the Canarins, was that he feared that if he consented to this, he would have to forego his profits both from their successions and their bazaar.

There is still another point to observe with regard to the king of Cochin and the Canarins, which was the first occasion of the latest dispute with this king, viz., the toll which he levies at Mattanchery and the Canarin bazaar.

Mattanchery is properly speaking that place on the river, just outside the town starting from the outskirts of Calvetty or rather from the Canarin rivulet over which the large bridge lies, and a good bit further everywhere where there are warehouses of native merchants. It is also the place where the native vessels put in with their merchandise. From time immemorial the king has levied a certain amount of toll at this place as well as at the Canarin bazaar and a third place near the little pagoda, which is therefore called Pagodingo. But His Highness has of late gradually increased that toll and demanded more than was levied there before, which made a noise mostly at Mattanchery, because it affected all the merchants who came and went and trade was so far injured. So my predecessor found in this occasion to contest the territory with His Highness and to claim that Mattanchery, the Canarin Bazaar, and Pagodingo belonged to the Company and not to the king. This question has, however, now been decided in the sense that the king should keep the profits of the above-mentioned three places, provided he does not levy more than has been levied from of old and that he draws up a schedule of the tolls to be demanded in those places in future for examination. This list has since been duly sent in, and has been handed over for examination to officials here who have most local experience and knowledge of the vernacular in order that with the assistance of the Company's and other native merchants and in the presence of the king's ministers, they should examine and enquire whether anything new, or an increase of toll, compared with former times, could be found. That enquiry has since taken place, and our officials and the Jewish and native merchants have unanimously declared that the list is drawn up fairly, and even that in former times they had had to pay more. They added that they had no reason to complain of these payments since everything was in accordance with usage and custom. A formal document was drawn up by the Committee and signed by the king's ministers, with a special undertaking that tolls should be levied in that way and according to this list, and that the list should decide if complaints were made. The list has been made available to every one The details of this affair will be found in my special despatches to Batavia, dated 4th March and 1st May 1772, and 25th March 1773, and more fully in the Resolution of the 13th August 1772.

This is a matter in regard to which care must be taken that there is no breach of agreement and that the tolls are not imperceptibly raised again. Though it might not be done by the king or his ministers, yet it might be done by the farmers, as the king does not collect the toils, but farms them out to the highest bidder. The reason why it is necessary to keep an eye on this is that the Canarin bazaar, the bazaar of Pagodingo and Mattanchery are the nearest market places at which the people buy daily necessaries, so that the least raising of the tolls raises the price of necessaries to the poor, not to mention that it is now a settled question

and it is the duty of the Company not only to take notice of transgressions of the settlement, but even to prevent them. If therefore the Company should shut their eyes to the slightest increase of toll, and should neglect to make careful enquiries occasionally, the Company would soon lose its supreme authority over this territory, or at least difficulties might again arise about this mattor in course of time. But the most important reason why we ought to be watchful is that increases of the toll at Mattanchery would effect the trade in this place; for the merchants would suffer by it, and the traders would be averse from coming here to trade, since Mattanchery is the place, as has been already remarked, where all the native vessels, and so also the bombaras [1], load and unload in front of the warehouses there. Since we have come to an agreement with the king about this question, I have now and then sent a subordinate on a special errand to the places to see whether they were beginning to go behind the agreement. At times I did this secretly in order to discover the real truth, at other times I sent out subordinates who were known to them, in order to show publicly that I interested myself in the matter.

Finally there is still another matter between us and the king of Cochin, viz., we are obliged to give the half of the import and the export duties to His Highness annually, *i.e.*, those on the goods which are conveyed in and out by the river and taxed; a revenue which he enjoyed in the time of the Portuguese and which was left to him afterwards by treaty.

I once, for political and mercantile reasons, suggested to Their Right Worshipfuls that they should buy this right from the king for a fixed annual sum. Their Right Worshipfuls sanctioned this, but "the Majores" [2] have adduced well-founded objections as may be seen in detail in special letters to Batavia, dated 10th February 1775, 4th January 1776, 7th March 1777 and 5th January 1779, and also in special despatches from Batavia the dates of which are 20th September 1775, 11th November 1776 and 15th September 1778; and in a general letter, from the Council of the Seventeen, dated 8th October 1777.

This is a point that should not be lost sight of, although I am at present inclined to think that it will be very difficult to obtain a cession of that right from the king, since it is almost the only remnant of his former greatness. But should it later on suit the Company better to have the whole of this revenue instead of dividing it with the king, the best plan would be to offer His Highness an acceptable round sum down once for all, and that just at a time when he is in the utmost embarrassment; as is often the case with him. Now that he has to pay tribute to the Nabob also, opportunities will the oftener present themselves. I am of opinion that, if he *were allowed* to accept such a proposal, he certainly *would* do so as soon as he found himself in extreme embarrassment. I remarked "if he were allowed," because I fear that the king of Travancore would prevent him, as it is well known that the king of Cochin is only king of his territory in name and the king of Travancore king of Cochin in reality. However this scheme could be tried and if it was noticed that he was for it, but that the king of Travancore was interfering, then it would be best, according as circumstances permitted, to approach the king of Travancore direct about it and to try seriously to get the matter through.

There is another thing to be considered in this connection. The Company is trading at present in some goods, in which formerly common merchants used to trade and may even now, provided they are willing or able to pay the same prices as the Company.[3] On these goods the Company pays the same taxes as the merchants do, in accordance with a Malabar secret resolution of the 26th November 1773. This resolution was passed, because we only wished to give this trade a trial and we could not be quite sure that it would continue to be so profitable permanently and possibly expand year by year. So we did not wish to injure the contractor, who in taking up the contract has made his calculations not only on the

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[1] Bombaras: Native vessels described on page 218 below.
[2] Majores: One of the titles by which the Council of the Seventeen is commonly designated in these MSS.
[3] This is the so-called "private trade" described in chapter XIII below.

capoc [1], which the bombaras chiefly import among other goods but also on the sugar and arrack, which our ship people take with them as "permitted" cargo although only half is paid on "permitted [2]" cargo. If, therefore, dues were not paid on these goods to the contractor, he could reasonably have asked for some compensation and also have offered so much the less next year, and this last is my real point, namely, that if the Company does not pay duty on goods, which it buys and sells here, the amount paid for the customs contract will be much reduced. The king of Cochin, and the Company would each sustain half the loss, but while the Company would be amply compensated for the whole of that loss by getting more profits when the goods are sold, the loss which the king sustained might induce him the sooner to make up his mind to sell the right he has to half the revenue, according to one or other way suggested by me above. The question however arises whether we could justly and with good faith take this course. I think we could, but I would not guarantee that the king, if he came to hear of it, would refrain from making objections. But then we should point out to the king the reasonable basis of our action, for the Company is not bound to pay duty on goods, which it buys or sells. And if we could not get our way either by fair speaking or by taking action in earnest, we should in any case remain in the same position; at any rate I am confident that I have sufficiently shown in the letters mentioned above the importance of not allowing the king to share the contract any more and with such great interests at stake some attempt should be made. Meanwhile I find in the conditions of the contract for import and export duties these words which constitute the whole of the 18th article: *merchandise and goods, which are directly bought from, or sold to, the Company, pay no duty.* I cannot see why the Company should not stick to this, and pay no duty on goods, which it buys and sells.[3]

Concerning other affairs, one has very little of importance to do with the king of Cochin, as has been remarked already, except that every now and then we are troubled with complaints against our subjects. His district lies very near our town so that mischievous or frolicsome soldiers, sailors and others, occasionally offend the subjects of the king, whom they meet daily. It is therefore strictly necessary to punish the smallest offences severely if complaints are lodged, and are found to be true. In particular our people should not be allowed to go too near the pagodas or temples of the heathens, still less to desecrate them; or to injure their cows, or to make use of their cooking utensils and bathing places. The common man looks upon such things as bagatelles and does not understand that they may give rise to the greatest difficulties.

When an affair has to be settled, a message or a letter is sent to the Court, sometimes also the king's ministers are invited to come one day or other to town, and as a rule they will turn up, and you tell them personally what you have to say to prevent erroneous messages and misunderstandings.

Before leaving the king of Cochin, I must say something about *the lands of Cusipally, the estate of Maprana*, and the so-called 18 *half-villages*, because the king of Cochin is most closely connected with these territories; finally something about the king of Repolim.

The *lands of Cusipally* belong to the king of Cochin, and are situated in the north of the island of Baypin. In the year 1762 they were mortgaged to the Honourable Company for 300,000 Cochin fanams or 15,000 rupees. This sum was borrowed by His Highness and taken in cash in order to defray the war expenses of his little army, which, in consequence of an agreement made with the king of Travancore at that time, he had to bring into the field, in order, with the assistance of Travancore, to drive the Zamorin out of his northern districts, of which he was to cede to Travancore the lands of Paru and Mangatty in return for this help, but the other districts were to come again under the sway of Cochin; as also happened.

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1 *Capoc*: cotton wool of the silk cotton tree. The word is Malay.

2 Articles, such as sugar and arrack, in which the Company permitted its servants, etc., free trade on its own ships, are what constitute the "permitted cargoes" of the Dutch "ship people."

3 On this the Batavia Government pointed out (MS. No. 1146, see App. X) that the contract was older than the special trade, that it would be unjust to the king of Cochin to refuse to pay the duty and that the proposal was, on grounds of equity, entirely inadmissible.

So the said sum was advanced to the king on these lands on condition that His Highness paid the money back in September 1762, or else the revenues of the lands should be collected by the Company and the Company should administer them till the full amount was paid, when they would be given back to the king of Cochin.

When the date fixed for payment came round, the king paid nothing, alleging inability, but after much exhorting consented to the Company collecting the revenues, as was done on behalf of the Company until His Highness asked to be allowed to have the revenues collected himself, and that the Company would be good enough to deduct the amounts collected from what it was bound to pay him every year from the customs. This was conceded, because the collection of the revenues on behalf of the Company involves much trouble and also expense. To the present day the amount which is collected by His Highness himself is deducted annually from His Highness's share of the customs, being a yearly sum of Rs. 1,297-12-8.

What other information about these mortgaged lands is of service may be found in a Batavia ordinary letter dated the 25th September 1772, and in a special letter from Batavia, dated the 25th March 1773, likewise in the reply to the latter in a special letter from Batavia, dated 30th September 1773.

The *estate of Maprana* is situated south of the river Innemaka (Ennemakal Lake) in the northern part of the kingdom of Cochin. One Belosta Nambiar, who was however subject to the Zamorin was formerly the chief. In a treaty of peace of the year 1717, concluded with the Honourable Company, the Zamorin gave up all his dominions south of the river Innemaka, and among these was this estate. Afterwards most of these lands came into the possession of the king of Cochin again, with the exception of Maprana, which was left to the Company, while the other proprietor, namely Belosta Nambiar, remained in possession as a vassal of the Honourable Company and had to pay four lasts [tons of 3,000 lb.] of rice in the husk annually for it.

This Nambiar was very slow in supplying this rice; in the year 1758 he was ten years in arrears, at which time the Zamorin invaded Province Paponetty and also Maprana. He remained in possession of these territories till 1762 and 1763, when he was driven out by the king of Cochin assisted by the king of Travancore. Maprana with the neighbouring lands, according to an agreement between the two kings, was assigned to the king of Cochin and the above-mentioned Belosta Nambiar was declared to have forfeited it.

The Company then claimed to be the feudal lord of that estate, and demanded the reinstatement of the Nambiar. The king of Cochin was not disposed to satisfy this demand, but preferred to acknowledge the Hon'ble Company as feudal lord and to supply the four lasts of rice a year, but not the arrears of the Nambiar. To this the Company consented, and so the king of Cochin had the four lasts of rice supplied annually at Chettua, but now supplies them at Cranganore.

By the *eighteen half-villages* is understood a plot of territory stretching from the sea to the river (backwater), between the northern limit of the kingdom of Cranganore and the southern limit of Province Paponetty. They belonged formerly to the kingdom of the Zamorin, but in course of time they came into the possession of the king of Cochin; but how and under what conditions there are no documents or native traditions to show. I have tried to find out something from the king's ministers but all they knew was that these lands fell to His Highness's share after the war with the Zamorin. They remained in his possession till the year 1719, when His Highness had a dispute with the king of Cranganore about a piece of ground of 100 parras sowing[1] situated in those villages, which the then Commandeur, Hertenberg, wished to make an end of and settle. The king of Cochin took this amiss and wrote to the Commandeur that he had obtained these lands by a war, which had lasted many years, but that he would give them up now, and renounce his rights to them, and that the Company might then give the villages to the king of Cranganore.

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[1] According to the old Cochin settlement rate of 1820 one parra of land = 60 perukkams. 500 perukkams are reckoned to an acre. So the plot of ground in dispute was only about 12 acres.

The Commandeur took His Highness (who did not really mean this, and only acted out of a sort of pique) at his word and assured him that he could not decline such a generous gift; so that those 18 half villages came into the possession of the Company and remained so till the year 1740, when they were returned to the king of Cochin under a formal deed of cession which follows here below for perusal:—

"Julius Valentijn Stein van Gollenesse, Commandeur and Chief of the "Coast of Malabar, Canara and Vingurla and Council.

"Whereas it has pleased the Right Worshipful the Governor-General Adriaan "Valkenier and the Worshipful Members of Council of the Dutch Indies to "write to the undersigned, Commandeur of this Coast, in an honoured secret letter "of the 4th July 1740 and to command him to return to His Highness the king of "Cochin, and to surrender, with full proprietary rights, the so-called 18 half villages, "formerly accepted by Commandeur Johannes Hertenberg on account of the Com-"pany in the year 1719, and situated behind Paponetty in the districts of Eddavil-"linga and Hadialipuram: on the good witness of the Worshipful the Ordinary "Member of Council, Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff for the good-will of His Highness "towards the Company, we now restore and surrender with full proprietary rights in "conformity with the honoured order and express charge of Their aforenamed Right "Worshipfuls, at the reiterated request of His Highness, the aforesaid 18 half-"villages to His Highness the king of Cochin, with their appurtenances just as "they were when the Company took delivery, and renounce all rights whatever, "properties or claims, which the Company ever have had in them or might still make "and in order that the same may be clear for all time, we have resolved to confirm "and corroborate the above transfer further with this public document and by our "signature."

"Cochin 22nd December 1740, (Signed) J. V. Stein van Gollenesse."

From that time the king governed these villages till the year 1757, when His Highness united with the Zamorin and other northern princes to oppose the king of Travancore in his designs. The Zamorin then came up with his troops and invaded Province Paponetty. Later these princes realised their mistake, disagreed and dared not continue their operations. The Zamorin demanded compensation for his expenses from the king of Cochin on the pretext that he had marched up with his army at his request, and when this was not forthcoming, he invaded the territory of Cochin and took possession of the 18 half-villages. So these villages came again into the hands of the Zamorin.

However in the year 1758 the Zamorin made peace with the Company and restored our province, and also gave up the 18 half-villages to the Company, but remained in possession of the other Cochin territories.

Afterwards when the king of Cochin again got possession of his northern districts he put forward his claim to the 18 half-villages, and that always more and more insistently. This was reported fully to Batavia and the reply given in a secret despatch dated 25th October 1763 was that they would like to see the king induced to give up his claim.

As His Highness was not to be moved and pressed his claim more and more strongly, the authorities here were written to in a secret letter of the 17th September 1765 as far as possible to assert his want of title or other plea or if nothing else would do to urge him to accept another piece of ground, but if His Highness should make show of passing to hostilities and no chance of being able to check him was seen, then only to have recourse to restitution.

The Company remained in possession of these villages till the year 1769, when, on further pressure from the king of Cochin, they were again surrendered and delivered over as may be seen in a Malabar resolution of the 18th February 1769, the relevant part of which I quote below:

"Finally his Worship the Governor informed the meeting—

"That his Worship (the Governor Senff) and the Commandeur (Breekpot) "had found good at the repeated and pressing instances of the king of Cochin and "pursuant on the sanction of Their Right Worshipfuls, to surrender again and

"restore to this prince the 18 half-villages, bordering on Province Paponetty; "and that as soon as the Palyet should return, commissioners would be appointed "to transfer them formally to His Highness or his envoys, certain boundaries "being fixed to prevent disputes, which otherwise might arise in the future."

Although now the whole territory, from Chettua till Cranganore, is occupied by the Nabob Hyder Alyckan, yet these villages are left alone and the revenues thereof are enjoyed by the king of Cochin without interference on condition that this prince pays the tribute imposed on him to the Nabob at the proper time.

The piece of ground in question is diversely referred to in the Company's papers either as the eighteen half-villages or the $18\frac{1}{2}$ villages; the first expression would imply that there are nine complete villages, and the second eighteen complete villages, and a half, but the right name is eighteen half-villages, because the territory consists of 18 pieces of ground each of which constitutes a kind of village and so each piece is called a half-village instead of a village.[1]

I have described these 18 half-villages somewhat in detail on account of a remark which has been made with regard to their restitution in a general home letter, dated 2nd October 1771, from which it must be concluded that our lords and masters had not been clearly enough informed by this Government on what grounds the restitution was made, and of the further particulars of the whole question of these villages; and although they are not any longer in our possession, I have thought it not unserviceable to bring together here all I knew about them, as the information may come in useful in course of time.

Repolim (Edapilli), which is also called Ellengalur, is a little kingdom about two (Dutch) miles long and broad, next to Anjicaimal on the other side of the river (backwater) in the territory of the King of Cochin. It is divided into three portions, named Repolim, Perundda Perandur and Illamacarre and consists of gardens and fields.

Besides this, the chief has many plots of ground in the kingdoms of Travancore, Cochin, Collastry and in that of the Zamorin, and so his properties are scattered all over Malabar as follows:

In the eastern districts of Travancore at Manjamel, Palottil, Nhalottil, Chakanatto (Kakannád), Cunattunatto (Kunnatunád), Basalacotta, Cattacarre and Oypenom (probably Ézhipram),[2] where palaces and houses have been built for Repolim.

In the southern districts of Travancore, at Ezemalur, where Repolim also possesses palaces and houses; also at Pattanacotta (Pattanakád), where Repolim has erected a pagoda; also at Cheramangalam (Cháramangalam), Usua (Uzhuva), Carcarapally (Kadakkarapilli), Balambur (Valambur), Carraporam (Karappuram),[3] and Trinconaposa (Trikunnapuzha), at which last place Repolim possesses a very large piece of ground, almost as large as Repolim itself, on which several palaces and houses are built. Furthermore at Nallanikel (Nallánikal), Chepatto (Chéppád),[4] Chenitallo (Chennitála), Pandalom (Pantalam), Tumbonam, Bettickanrom, Caddekatto, Malleapose (Malayálappuzha),[5] Caluparra (Kállupára), Erowora (Iravipérur),[6] Ballancolom, Cacengaporom, Benikolottam, Balangare (Válánkara), Nertuncarre, Maddatumbagom (Madatumbhágam), Calurcarre (Kalurkarra),[7] Benattare.

In Porca at Muttitakel.

In Tekkencur at Wassapally (Vázhapilli), Perinellon (Perinnayil).[8]

In the kingdom of Cochin, at Callur (Kalúr), Pallariwattam (Párivaltam), Bennele (Vennala), Paddiwattam (Padivattam), Punuruny (Punnurunni), Chalicodda (Chalikkavattam), Cheramelur (Chéránellúr) and Ninadacarre (Nindakara).[9]

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[1] Mr. Moens is probably mistaken. To add on a half to a figure is, I am informed by Mr. Achyuta Menon, a favourite method of computation in Malabar. So, for instance, a temple may be managed by $8\frac{1}{2}$ families or votes.

[2] These places are in the Kunnatnad taluk of Travancore.

[3] These places are in the Shertala taluk.

[4] These places are in the Kartikapilli taluk.

[5] Such of these places as I can identify are in Mavelikkara taluk.

[6] Tiruvella taluk.

[7] Alangad taluk.

[8] Changanasseri taluk.

[9] These places are near Ernaculam.

In the kingdom of the Zamorin at Ballonattocare and Urevenur, but those places are at present in the power of the Nabob.

In Collastry, we are told, he also had a piece of ground here and there, but these places shared the fate of his property in the country of the Zamorin, as Collastry has already been for a long time under the sway of the Nabob.

From all these places, with the exception of those which are in the possession of the Nabob, the Chief of Repolim receives some revenue. While the inhabitants are looked upon as subjects of Repolim, more properly they are the subjects of those kings in whose territories these pieces of land are.

The Company concluded a treaty with this little king for the first time in the year 1740.

In this treaty, dated 13th October 1740, this chief promised—

(1) to supply all the pepper, which grows in his territory ;
(2) to prevent smuggling thereof and to confiscate undeclared goods in the interests of himself and the Company ;
(3) to arrest deserters and to hand them over to the Company.
(4) The Company promised in return to protect his territory, provided the chief did not wrong any one, or make war without apprizing the Honorable Company.

This chief is a priestly ruler, being of the oldest and highest caste of the Brahmins, and, for these two reasons though for these reasons only, he is highly respected by all the heathen kings and rulers of these countries.[1] His mode of living is very superstitious and secluded. His daily work consists entirely of spiritual ceremonies. He is bound to bathe every day before the rising of the sun in his tank or bath, and to perform ceremonies and to say prayers in it and to remain in it till the sun has reached its zenith. Then he retires to his private quarters, assorts flowers and adores the idols of his temple with them. When he is performing the ceremonies two "Pattarese,"[2] viz., holy church, or temple-servants, stand near him the whole time, and pay attention to everything in order that the different ceremonies may be performed precisely at the proper time. Various other superstitions and follies are performed which you can hardly believe when you hear of them.

His piety and the high opinion the native kings have of the effect of his prayers go so far, that the reason why he obtained and has been able to keep plots of land everywhere in the four principal kingdoms of Malabar is the understanding that he will pray more fervently for the princes and the belief that their kingdoms will be blessed for the sake of his plots of ground in them. He was however not able to keep the places in the kingdom of the Zamorin and in Collastry because the Nabob, being a Mahomedan, troubles himself little about the etiquette of Hinduism.

It is for the above reasons that the king of Travancore, when in the last war he conquered the lands of Cochin in the neighbourhood, left alone the little State of Repolim with the reservation that the pepper which grows in Repolim was to be supplied to him. The outturn of pepper however is very small, so that it is rather curious that it was thought worth while to make a pepper-contract with this chief in 1740 ; the more so, as there are no proofs that a single grain was ever supplied ; and he has also never handed us over any deserters.

This chief does not grant audience to anybody, but if necessity absolutely requires anyone to speak to him, he must be approached at midday when he is on his way back to his palace and in order to be successful, one must get round the

[1] Edapilli : "The Edapilli chief, who is a Nambudiri Brahmin of high rank having wide spiritual but limited temporal authority. The chief is regarded as the family priest of the Travancore family. . . . . . . There is a palace built in the old style (at Edapilli). (Travancore Manual III, 583.)

[2] Pattarese : *Cf.* F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina (1683), p. 264. The word has been misprinted "Pattaneesen" in the Dutch version (No. 2 in this series). In the manuscript it is clearly "pattareezen." The word stands for Malayalam Bhattatiri, colloquially pattéri, and it has been ascertained for me by local enquiry by Mr. Achyuta Menon that two Bhattatiris, one of the Alasakodam family and one of the Pulyat family, used to attend on the Edapilli Raja when he performed his daily religious duties. Bhattatiris are Tamil Brahmins, foreigners to Malabar. They are commonly called "Pattars" in Anglo-Indian reference books.

courtiers beforehand, for without their favour, one cannot profit even by this passing moment.

When the Chiefs of Repolim enter upon their duties, they are obliged to take a legal wife in marriage, although their brothers and sisters are not allowed to marry, but have to live according to the unbecoming customs and licentious way of the heathen princes in this country. The rulers of Repolim therefore must be legitimate sons, which is something rare among heathen princes, for with them it is customary for the sons born from the wanton unmarried sisters of the kings to be always the natural successors to the throne.

The affairs of his little kingdom are managed by the ministers of the chief, who must give account of their doings to him on certain days of the week only fixed for that purpose, and so it will be readily understood that the administration of the kingdom mostly depends on these courtiers, who keep the luff of one another and seek their own interest according to the measure of their favour with the prince and their skill in holding their place.

The Company has little of importance to do with this king, but it may be stated that his little kingdom is a kind of asylum or free town in which people who are afraid of prosecution or punishment take refuge and are safe; and more especially when they are able to reach a temple or pagoda there. This privilege is acknowledged and respected by all Malabar kings. However, I never could find out on what right or ground this privilege is based, unless the little kingdom obtained it on account of its ruler being a spiritual and very devout prince of the most revered of all priestly castes among the natives. It may be mentioned that he is sometimes called on this account by a name that would signify as much as a "priestly king, who, on account of his royal dignity, makes a retreat to the altars safe."

Nevertheless I would never suffer the Native Christians who have committed crimes and retreated to that little kingdom to be considered to be in asylum, partly because the country would then quickly become full of thieves and murderers on account of the great number of Christians here, among whom and by whom murders are without that encouragement constantly committed and thefts almost daily, and partly because it seems to me not proper that Roman Christians should fly for refuge to heathen idols and temples. If such a case occurred I quietly demanded the fugitive back pointing out that, being Christians, they could find no refuge there. Whereupon I always got them back.

I once even had a Canarin brought back from Repolim, who had pitifully mishandled a Christian, and retreated to that place, partly because the crime was too great and signal, and partly to show that we are not exactly bound to respect this arrogated privilege. However the less this happens, the better, because if it were too often repeated, it would scandalise the native kings. If from necessity recourse should be had in a special case to such a measure, the strictest orders should be given and care should be taken that the temples are not approached, and still less entered to haul out the fugitive. He should not be arrested until he is outside the pagoda precincts. A certain letter of the 2nd January 1774, which, amongst others, I wrote to this king, gives sufficient directions how to act in such cases. It may be referred to. It will be found among the bundle of letters to native kings.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF THE ZAMORIN.

The third kingdom of Malabar is that of the Zamorin. In ancient times it was the *most powerful* and the *most wealthy* of the four kingdoms of Malabar. For this reason the Zamorin formerly let himself be styled Emperor. I said the most powerful on account of its many and brave Nairs; for it is well-known that the Nairs of the Zamorin have always been the most daring and resolute among all the Nairs of Malabar, and the extensiveness of this kingdom must also be considered; it stretched in the north to the kingdom of Colastry, and in the south to the mouth of the river of Cranganore, in the east to the mountains and the kingdoms of Palcatchery (Palghat) and Mysore, and so it was far larger and more extensive than the then kingdom of Travancore.

I said the *most wealthy*, on account of the extensive trade carried on by the Moors of tho Zamorin with the Red Sea, Persia and Surat, and especially their trade in that ancient and famous free mart of Calicut; and the Portuguese too, when they came to Malabar, sought out and stood in for this emporium first.

As soon as the Portuguese, however, had taken possession of the navigation and the trade in these regions, the trade of Calicut decreased and fell into its decline as was clearly indicated by the Zamorin at the making of a treaty with the Admiral Peter William Verhœven, dated 16th October 1608,[1] when he insisted that this Admiral should besiege the town of Cochin, which at that time was still in the hands of the Portuguese.

Besides this, the kingdom itself lost much of its power and wealth and was at last reduced to the state it is in now, especially through its Moorish subjects, and the bad system of government, as the Moors usually played the masters and always found means of causing dissensions at the court. They managed this in such a way that their party was usually the strongest, and this kingdom had many a time to defend itself against its own subjects and so had, as the saying is, its enemies in its own bosom. The kings on their part were as a rule weak men who did not maintain their authority sufficiently, but allowed pretty well all the courtiers to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom, and even the women had their say in State affairs, especially the mothers of the heirs apparent.

The Company too has, as a rule, had much trouble with the Zamorins, has had from time to time to wage expensive wars with them, and has found them the most untrustworthy of all the Malabar kings, not to speak of their having sometimes even intrigued nastily with the English, French and Portuguese. The cause of these troubles has been chiefly the Cochin kingdom; for between these two kingdoms there was always an irreconcilable hatred, and we were more or less obliged to take the part of Cochin on account of the great interest that the Company notoriously has in the continued existence of the Cochin State.

These troubles began especially with the year 1707, when the Company wanted to build the fort of Chettua (Chetway) against the will of the Zamorin. The main facts in connection with this affair are recorded in a secret resolution of the 5th March 1777, from which it may be seen that the fort of Chettua and Province Paponetty have always been in dispute.[2] This kingdom was completely overthrown by Nabob Hyder Alyckan in the year 1766. Possibly it would not have come to this, if they had dealt with the affair better at the Court. For, when the Nabob sent envoys to the Zamorin to demand tribute, he sent them away with the uttermost contempt though, knowing that every one at that time had to submit to the Nabob, he should have replied to the ambassadors submissively, and proceeded to negotiate about the tribute and to knock off as much as possible.

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[1] The correct date is the 13th October 1608. The treaty will bo found printed at page 278 of Vol. III of De Jonge's collection. It is directed to the "ruin and destruction of the Portuguese together with their associates."

[2] The secret resolution of the 5th March 1777 will be found in MS. No. 1151. It contains a useful historical account of these events. An account of a previous expedition in those parts conducted by H. A. Van Rheede (1691), then Commissary-General, has been published in a series of articles by N. Macleod (1902) to be obtained in pamphlet form from Nijhoff, the Hague.

The Nabob, embittered by this, conquered the whole of his kingdom, took the king prisoner and would not see him, and at last the king himself became the victim of all these calamities, because fearing that the Nabob would take his life, and that his corpse would not be burnt according to the customs of the heathens, he managed to set fire on all four sides to the room in which he was imprisoned, and so was burned alive, without any one being able to extinguish the fire.

In the meantime the Nairs of the Zamorin and of other dispossessed petty kings were continually harassing the troops of the Nabob. This went on for some time till at last the Mahrattas came against the Nabob in force, so that the latter had to retreat with his troops to the north. Before doing so, he reinstated the heir apparent in this kingdom on condition that he should pay a certain tribute annually.

When the Zamorin was thus reinstated, he forgot to pay his tribute, thinking perhaps that the Nabob would not get clear of the Mahrattas. But it happened otherwise, and after having made peace with the Mahrattas the Nabob marched against the Zamorin in the year 1773, and conquered his kingdom, which is still in his possession.

The indifference of the Zamorin to the Nabob's last invasion was surprising to me. He heard that the Nabob had taken possession of the neighbouring kingdoms of Cotteate (Kottayam), Coddagamale and other territories thereabout, one after the other, and that his turn was to come next, and yet he remained absorbed in trifles instead of thinking of the defence of his kingdom. Not a month before he had to flee I received letter after letter from him dealing only with the appointment of a Namburi or priest in the Triporatty (Tripurayar) pagoda by the king of Cochin, in regard to which he had not been consulted.[1] The position in regard to this pagoda is that the appointment of the Nambudri must be made after *both* the Zamorin and the king of Cochin have been informed. He asked as strongly for my support in this matter as if his head and the existence of his kingdom depended on it. Whilst he was busy with the dispute about this pagoda, the Nabob took one fort of his after the other till, without having made any resistance to speak of, he took to his heels after having first let himself be nicely befooled by the French Governor of Mahé,[2] and left his kingdom a prey to the Nabob.

This is the end of this kingdom, chiefly brought about by the intrigues of its Moorish subjects who had better opinions of the government of the Nabob (as being a Moor himself) than they experience now to their regret.

The king retreated to the kingdom of Travancore, where he is still, but the princes stay near the frontiers of the kingdom of the Zamorin in the forests and mountains with a party of Zamorin Nairs, who continually disturb the Nabob's subjects and will not submit as yet.

The Governor of Calicut occasionally gathers the land-forces which are scattered all over the territories of the Zamorin with the view of making an effective onslaught on the Nairs, but they have slain at different times a good many of the Nabob's people and when they realise that they cannot stand out any longer, they retreat to the woods and mountains. They are the only people of his conquered kingdoms with whom he has so much trouble, since the others submitted at once, and once they had submitted never made the least further movement.

I must also make separate mention of some fields and gardens which the Zamorin once possessed outside his kingdom. There are some fields and gardens situated in the Chettua or more properly speaking Payenchery district, which belonged to His Highness in the oldest times.

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[1] The pagoda rights of the princes of Malabar might be of various kinds; *e.g.* of general supervision as sovereign (the mel-koima right), of internal supervision as trustee or manager (aga-koima). or a right in regard to the mid-day or other particular service. Rights might be enjoyed in temples in the territory of another prince and might be obtained by inheritance or conquest. So rights of the Travancore State in temples in the Cochin State, which Travancore claims through the king of Parur who was conquered by her 150 years ago, are still a subject of dispute between these two States and are from time to time still referred, as some new development occurs, to the Paramount Power, represented by the Government of Madras, for arbitration. In the old days they were referred to the Dutch. So in MS. No. 676 will be found documents regarding a dispute between Travancore and Cochin in the year 1761 to rights in the Ellangunapula temple on Vypeen The Dutch Commandeur obtained information regarding the rights of the parties and then seems to have sent Silvester Mendez, Captain of Topasses, to the spot with some troopers. In the year 1881 it fell to the Government of Madras to decide the same dispute again. They appointed a learned Judge as arbitrator. *Cedunt arma togae.*

[2] See pp. 155–56.

Although they lie outside his kingdom, he never could be induced to give them up, doubtless in order to maintain a claim on the region between Chettua and Cranganore, of which whole region he was formerly master[1]. For when he concluded a treaty with the Company in the year 1717, he specially reserved the ownership of these lands to himself and so also ruled them till the year 1763, when he still owed the Company 12,000 rupees and odd on account of the last war expenses, and the Company kept these lands as a guarantee for that money, since it was feared that the King of Travancore, who had just then marched against the Zamorin, would seize these lands and so get a footing in the aforenamed region.

It is true the Zamorin did not take objection to our action, but then his position would not allow him to undertake anything of importance. He left the ola which informed him about our taking the lands as security unanswered for some time. Later on, having come to terms with Travancore, he claimed these lands back, whereupon we demanded immediate settlement of the debt and assured him that otherwise we should keep these lands under attachment for the Honourable Company; but that the revenues thereof would be credited to him against the debt.

He promised to pay off his debt, but nothing came of it and so the Company kept the lands. The revenue is collected and booked against His Highness's debt, which at the time of the Nabob's invasion still amounted to Rs. 6,202 $\frac{21}{48}$. These are the self-same lands about which the Nabob's General Kharderkan began his first chicanes and claims at the last invasion. His quibbles were refuted in detail first in letters addressed to the General and later on in letters to the Nabob, copies of which may be found in separate packets of that time and entitled "letters sent to the Nabob"; for the rest I refer with regard to these fields and gardens to a separate letter of the 7th March 1777 to Batavia, the contents of which must be kept secret.

In this chaptor about the Zamorin, I must also make mention of *D'Hermutu Pannical.*

D'Hermutu Pannical [Dharmamutu or Dharmotu Panikkar] was not only one of the four principal Rajadores, but also a vassal of the Zamorin who held many lands free and in full proprietary right.

He was the chief firebrand of the war in the year 1717 between the Zamorin and the Honourable Company, and was also the person who in those days committed the treason of Chettua, on account of which it was specially stipulated in a treaty of peace made in that same year with the Zamorin that as he was unworthy to profit by the peace, the Zamorin should dismiss him from all his offices in the kingdom, and that all his fields and properties situated in the lands then conquered by the Honourable Company from the Zamorin and ceded to it should fall to the Company and be forfeited. So it also happened that (although there was some delay in dismissing him), his landed property in the territory of Chettua was forfeited to the Honourable Company. It is situated at the northern limits of the province of Paponetty [Pappinivattam] in the neighbourhood of the pagoda of Triporatty [Tripurayar temple, Chavakad taluk of Malabar] and consists of 437 Malabar parras of sowing land, 63 pieces of garden-land and 22 slaves, who also belong to this property. The whole of this landed property was leased out last, *i.e.*, in the year 1766, for twenty years for 630 Cochin parras of rice and 700 Cochin fanams per year. This revenue is usually collected at Paponetty and called in the Company's documents "The revenue of D'Hermutu Pannical," but it has now fallen into the hands of the Nabob since he conquered "the sandy land." And just as the said lands fell to the Company by the said treaty with the Zamorin of the year 1717, so also in consequence of the same treaty there came under the protection of the Company, for the first time, the *Payencheries* [Pazhayancheries], meaning properly branches of the family of a prominent proprietor of a very old house called Payenchery Nairo.

The district of Payenchery forms a great part, the northern part, of the territory that lies between the forts of Cranganore and Chettua.

[1] "Chitway Island", as it is called in the British records. It is now part of British Malabar. The British claim rests on the transactions here referred to as appears from paras. 535–556 of the Malabar Commission's Report of October, 1793. The Commissioners consulted the Dutch authorities.

The Payenchery district is usually called by the natives "the sandy land", and in the Company's records "the sandy land of Chettua", while the whole stretch of land from Chettua to Cranganore is also sometimes called by the natives "the sandy land", without addition.[1]

It has amused me to trace their origin as far as possible from old documents of the people of Malabar, and also from notes and traditions of the families themsevles.

This territory was from ancient times a subordinate petty kingdom called Charcarre. Its last proprietor having begotten a natural son of a woman of the aforesaid house of Payenchery, got into great trouble with his family on that account. They made so much unpleasant commotion about it, and embittered him to such an extent, that he bequeathed this landed property, besides Nairs to the number of 2,500, to this natural son, and disinherited his natural heirs and so it was that this territory first came into the possession of the family of the Payenchery Nairs.

When now the famous Emperor Cheram Perumal at the division of his territory into four principal kingdoms also left several estates to kings of less importance, he left to the oldest of the Payencheries, who was at that time a certain Manattamparambatto and a life-guard of the Emperor, some lands in the district of the Zamorin, and at the same time put under him 500 Nairs from that same district and so this Manattamparambatto came into possession not only of the district of Chettua, but also of the abovenamed estates in the Zamorin's kingdom and was at the same time lord of 3,000 Nairs.

This house which has since spread out into many families, is with general consent, divided into three chief families. One family was that of the aforesaid *Manattamparambatto*, whilst for the two others were selected *Panangatto* and *Ulatto*, whereby there were three *chief* families. I say three *chief* families, because the family of Manattamparambatto was again divided into two branches and the family of Panangatto into as many as four branches as appears from the following statement:—

The first chief family, named Manattamparambatto, is now divided into two families, viz., Takkentale [southern] and Masyaly Baddankontale [northern].

The second chief family, named Panangatto, is now divided into four families, viz.:—

Panangattu.	Tahiel [Tayyil].
Blaga [Blahayil].	Cherierto [Cheriyedat].

The third chief family named Ulatu is still to this day known by that name and no other.

Each of the above-mentioned families has under it many more families of less importance. When these three chief families are spoken of together, they are called by the general name of Payenchery Nairs.[2]

From of old this territory has been governed by these chief families. The eldest member of each chief family has the special governance of his family in the manner of patriarchal rule and these three eldest members are considered to be the eldest of the people, but the eldest of these three has the general management of everything, governs the country as he pleases, and exercises the right of life and death.

I mentioned above that this house obtained from the Emperor Cherampernmal some territory in the kingdom of the Zamorin. In connection with this I must also note that this has been the first cause of the great hatred and envy, which the Zamorin has since displayed against these families. It went at last so far that, although they remained in possession of their states and privileges, he began to

[1] Mr. Achyuta Menon informs me that the district was called the Pazhayancheri Nad till about 50 years ago. It is still popularly called Manappuram, "the sandy land".

[2] The Pazhayancheri family has now 12 branches, of which four are Mannatamparambat, five Panangod, one Ullat and two Manpilavil.

levy heavy taxes and imposts and through the dissensions which he had previously sown among them he would have made these families almost entirely tributary to him if the Company had not taken them under its protection. For this the Company stipulated a fair remuneration and so in the treaty made with the Zamorin in 1717, they were for the first time publicly acknowledged to be under the protection of the Company. Nevertheless these families had also to pay something to the Zamorin, in order to possess in peace their estates in the territory of the Zamorin. But notwithstanding this they were often oppressed by him and the Company was more than once obliged to intervene.

These families, in order to make more sure of our protection, offered to the Company in the year 1755 the half of certain land revenues, which amount yearly to 492½ gold fanams, equal to 98 rupees, and 523 parras rice.

Again in the year 1764 they offered to the Company the half of the tithes of the whole of their territory. The annual amount of those tithes comes to 960 parras rice and 1,709½ gold fanams, or about 341 rupees. These tithes are collected at Chettua. But as there is a difference between tithes of corn and tithes of other things, because tithes of corn may mean either tithes of the sown or the reaped, while tithes of other things is a clear expression, because all tithes except those on arable land consist of money, it may be observed that in the agreement the words "tithes of arable lands" are mentioned without any further explanation, only the Payencheries, who quite willingly and of their own accord promised the half of the above-mentioned tithes, have themselves explained these words as meaning the half of the tithes of the sown, and not of the reaped, and this has been accepted by us. The fields which they cultivate themselves, besides those belonging to the pagoda and those belonging to other big people, are exempt from taxation, but fields acquired by sale or otherwise in the district of Paponetty, like other land in that district, have to pay tithes to the Company on the area reaped.

The object of these families in offering us the free gift of the aforesaid half of the tithes of their district seems to have been to make themselves more and more sure of the protection of the Company. And it cannot be gainsaid that from that time they possessed their estates in peace and quiet without annoyance from any-one and did not suffer in former disturbances in Malabar, while on the contrary all the other kings, rulers and chiefs, together with their subjects, felt the plagues and consequences of war, and had to pay military contributions, so that the Payenchery Nair was the only heir of the Emperor Cheramperumal, who, with the protection of the Honourable Company, kept his old rights. Recently, however, the Nabob Hyder Alykhan has conquered the whole region from Chettua to Cranganore. The Company has not been able to prevent this on account of his superior force, but, the Payencheries receive from the Company for the present until further orders a monthly allowance of Rs. 30, as may be seen in a resolution of the 14th July 1777.

At times these families have had disputes among themselves, and have even tried to countermine one another, but I have always backed up the eldest, even if at times the other party had more or less right on his side, which I would then point out to the eldest privately at a tête-a-tête. This proved to be the best means of keeping the balance even among the families, for otherwise one would be constantly worried by them.

I have inferred from the old documents that at times they had dealings with the Zamorin, according as it served their purposes, but it is long now since anything has been heard of that, and while it may formerly have been so, I am inclined to believe that it was for reasons of state, or more particularly to do some honour to the Zamorin, who being their neighbour was in a position to annoy them adroitly, without its always being quite possible to prove it, and it was for this reason and for the sake of their lands in the territory of the Zamorin that they kept on good terms with him.

I will note another thing in these families, which is rare in some heathen or at least in Malabar princes, viz., that in the management of their affairs no violence or extortions take place, and that when they administer law, the offering of gifts or presents is not much in vogue.

I said "not much" because, however tolerably this district is ruled, the governors have not sufficient strength of mind to be able to decline always and at all times gifts and presents, although I have to confess that I have heard the people complain very little about it; so the inhabitants of this district are very happily governed in comparison with others and I have therefore always thought it best to interfere as little as possible with their administration and to allow them to settle their own affairs themselves. I intervened only when they began to go too far, and then I took direct cognisance of the matter and acted according to justice.

I must also make mention of the kings of *Airur* and *Cranganore* and of the prince *Cartamana*, because their closest relations were also formerly with the Zamorin.

I shall first speak in general about their relations to one another, and then of each in particular.

Airur, Cranganore and Cartamana.

Airur is the most ancient; after that follows Cranganore and then the principality of Cartamana, or more correctly these three spring from the old kingdom of Airur. For this old kingdom was first divided between two brothers and afterwards the part of the elder was again divided into two.

I find no light to speak of in any papers on these rulers but it has amused me to study the ancient and most reliable traditions and also the documents of the people themselves to find out the main facts regarding their mutual relations, and it may not be unserviceable to note down the following particulars.

The kings of Airur belong to the first and most distinguished family of the Malabaris. The first king received his kingdom from the famous Emperor Cherumperumal, who gave him the title of king and authority to exercise the right of life and death, but under the suzerainty of the Zamorin. He received some territory, not compact but divided up into parcels, most of them between the Cranganore and Chettua districts in the province of Paponetty, the others on the other side of the river opposite Paponetty in the most northern part of the kingdom of Cochin, where the kings of Airur used always to reside and hold their court, as also the present king. The place in which he lives is called Belanga [Vellangalur]. I mention this name for clearness sake because in various papers the House of Airur is also called alternatively the House of Belanga.

This Airur family being reduced in the course of many years to two brothers and one sister, was divided on account of differences between them. The estates were divided among them and the eldest brother took up his abode in the old palace. The younger brother and his sister left the place and settled down on this side of the river in the province of Paponetty. He looked after his estates as a common landowner whilst the eldest brother retained the principality and the other prerogatives as king.

Now it happened that a chief of Cranganore, also of high lineage, and who had free access to the princesses of the Zamorin, bequeathed his estates in Cranganore to the aforesaid younger brother of Airur. Hereupon he went to Cranganore, built the present palace, settled down, and obtained finally from the Zamorin, to whom the deceased chief had also been subject, the title of king, not only with the right of life and death, but also the privilege of free access to the princesses of the Zamorin, and so the kings of Cranganore are still called for this reason the fathers of the Zamorins.

In this way then the king of Cranganore came into existence, and must be looked upon as a younger brother of the Airur family. Besides the estates in Cranganore he is in possession of the half of the estates formerly belonging to Airur, which was his share when the division was made.

Long afterwards the family of the eldest brother was again divided among two brothers of that Prince, of whom the eldest again remained in possession of the dignity of a king and of the palace on the other side of the river, whilst the younger brother, namely prince Cartamana, managed as an ordinary proprietor the

estates which were his share, situated in the province of Paponetty. These two families, *viz.*, that of the king of Airur and of the prince Cartamana, are often indicated in the records as the Houses of Cusicatto and Cartamana.

These three petty kings are therefore, according to Malabar genealogical reckoning, brothers of the dynasty of Airur; and the present king of Airur, so to speak, is in possession of one-fourth, prince Cartamana of one-fourth and the king of Cranganore of half of the former estates of Airur, besides those he inherited.

Further particulars about these kings which appeared to me not sufficiently authentic I have omitted.

When treaties of peace were concluded with the Zamorin in the years 1710 and 1717, these three kingdoms or principalities came under the protection of the Company.

Although now the kings of Airur and Cranganore exercised the right of life and death over their subjects, they had no right to do so over those subjects who were living on the estates in our territory, since the territory of Paponetty was ceded to us by the Zamorin under the said treaties, after we had taken it from him by force of arms; and as Cartamana has no land outside our conquered territory, this prince has no right at all of life and death.

When therefore a sentence of death or a sentence in the next degree of severity had to be executed, the Company was informed, and then gave its sanction. If it was found that these petty kings overstepped their powers with regard to such cases, they were corrected by confiscation of a part of the standing crops, or a part of what had been reaped already, or something else of the kind.

It is in itself a somewhat curious procedure to restrict the right of a ruler to punish his subjects, but the practice is already of long standing and so, if only to maintain our suzerainty, we cannot let it slip away, as they never give the go-by to an opportunity of insensibly establishing a superior position and independence.

More than once they have shown their teeth and through their Nairs given trouble in this territory to our subjects, so that it has been necessary occasionally to send some soldiers into the country, to keep them quiet. At times they have even gone so far as to seek help and protection secretly from the native kings against the Company, as, for instance, from the kings of Travancore, Cochin and the Zamorin, who dared not take open action, but made use of this circumstance imperceptibly, according as it served their turn, only to vex the Company and cause it difficulties.

These petty kings are constantly quarrelling about their estates in our conquered territory as they often lay claim to one or other piece of ground and support that claim by laying interdicts on it. The offended party then lodges a complaint with the Company and seeks relief. For if differences arise among them, they may not take the law in their own hands, but must leave the decision to the Company. These quarrels were difficult to decide, for neither party could produce any real proof of ownership. The reason of this is that when the brothers separated the estates were not regularly divided, but each of them tried to get as much as he could, or thought he was entitled to.

When such cases were brought to my notice, *e.g.*, when some one had laid an interdict [1] on a piece of ground belonging to some one else, I at once ordered that the offenders should remove the interdict publicly, and bring the question to where it stood before the laying of it, though I did not know who was right and who was wrong. My object in doing so was only to make them see that they could not take the law into their own hands in our conquered territory and that any one who had any claim to make should submit it to the Company as his suzerain.

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[1] *Cf.* Logan I, 172: "A tuft of three green twigs tied to a doorway precluded persons from crossing the threshold of a house, and a similar tuft tied to the end of a staff stuck in the ground was, and still is in some parts, a sign that there is an interdict on the crops there growing".

In deciding cases of such a nature I informed myself first through old and impartial natives as to who had been longest in possession and as to the situation and position of the fields in question in their relation to fields not in question belonging both to the complainant and the defendant. My object in doing so was to be able to judge what estate the disputed plots of ground most naturally belonged to, at the old division of the lands. This was however rather difficult, because there is not a proper map of the lands which belong to the Company here, which is a capital defect. There exists, no doubt, a map, but it indicates only the courses of rivers and the boundaries of the estates, but the real internal situation cannot be ascertained from it.

It is said that the lands here cannot be really properly surveyed and mapped, because the native rulers, being too distrustful, would be suspicious about the measuring and would put difficulties in the way with all kinds of cunning shifts. This no doubt has to be taken into consideration on the one hand. But on the other, the utility and necessity of a good map seems to me to be too clear for us not to make an attempt after careful consideration to begin, for instance, by surveying the surrounding districts and gradually extend operations in order that the native may insensibly get used to it, and then he will understand that there is nothing strange or extraordinary in it.

After having collected all information, which could throw some light on the case, and having given every one an opportunity to prove the genuineness of his claim or possession, I would decide the question to the best of my judgment. As a rule I found that the claims were groundless and that the party, who was in possession, had only been annoyed and subjected to vexation.

When there was much to be said on both sides and I could not see my way to coming to a final decision I made occasional use of some expedient or other : so I would advise them to consider the affair calmly once more, and to arrange a compromise, reminding them that otherwise they would run the risk of their property being confiscated by the Company according to the saying that while two are fighting, a third takes the spoil. As a rule they then came to a settlement of the question.

It happened occasionally, that when I made enquiries into their complaints, I have now and then found that disputes, which had been already settled long ago by one or other Commandeur, came up again but in quite another form ; when I noticed this, I always referred them to the first decision, in order not to let their disputes run on for ever.

There is still something more to be said about these princes all together. Before they paid no tribute to the Company for their protection, but recently, or more precisely, from the year 1760, tithes have been levied with much difficulty on their estates in the conquered tract of Paponetty, and, in respect of the arable lands, tithes on the crops of their fields but not on the land sown. It is difficult to say how much they were against this and what subterfuges they employed. Cartamana, although the smallest landholder, was the bitterest and the most obstinate in his resistance. He even made objections when Airur and Cranganore had already consented, but at last he also was forced to give in.

Although these tithes have since been collected without opposition, they nevertheless constantly tried to get free from them again. Whenever they had a chance they made the most forcible representations to this end. However, since I have got them to understand that they never could expect a change, and that if they continued to make a fuss, they would run the risk of being called upon to pay the tithes from the time they came under the protection of the Company, viz., from the treaties with the Zamorin of the years 1710 and 1717, to the year 1760, they have left me alone. These tithes are annually leased out and collected at Paponetty.

I intend now to give some particulars of each of these three petty princes separately. I shall start with Cranganore.

Cranganore.

Cranganore is the most prominent amongst them as will have been seen from the foregoing.

The king himself is of a specially kind-hearted and simple character, and very devout on account of his caste.

The affairs of the kingdom are not settled by him but by two of his ministors, whom he likes most. This lasts until they are dismissed and replaced by others.

When important affairs came up for discussion, which embarrassed them or made them fear evil consequences, all the big courtiers would come together and would then wrangle miserably; for every one would insist on his view being adopted, without considering the public good, and when they could not agree they would have recourse to their idol in the big pagoda, whose decision was sought by a process of hazard secretly by one of the most prominent and cunning priests of the pagoda. The decision was then told outside and was usually of an ambiguous nature, more or less in accordance with the nature of the case, but specially framed to fit in with the general opinion. The decision was then looked upon as an oracle like the oracles of the ancients.

I never could find out exactly what was the revenue of Cranganore, because in general it is a peculiarity of the inhabitants of Malabar to keep the matter of their income a secret from others, no matter how little it is; however, the revenue from crops I know have amounted to about 20 to 25,000 parras of paddy and the cash revenue to about as many Cochin fanams (20 to a rupee) annually.[1]

This king is almost defenceless and has not the means to provide for his own protection, and so his little kingdom would have been seized by one or other native king long ago, if he had not at first been under the special protection of the Zamorin and later on under that of the Company. Lately however the Company has not been able to defend him against the superior power of Nabob Hyder Alykhan. The Company found it difficult enough to defend itself against the usurper and to stop his further progress. For this reason the king of Cranganore gets the sum of Rs. 50 for his maintenance from the Company until further orders as per resolution of the 14th July 1777.

Some time before the invasion of the Nabob, when he had already an eye on Cranganore, I succeeded in prevailing on this kinglet to remain obedient to the Company's authority without giving offence to the Nabob. I say without giving offence, for at that time he had not as yet done anything hostile against us, and we were obliged to keep up the much recommended neutrality and to take care to keep him as long as possible in good humour. Notwithstanding this the kinglet of Cranganore himself was the cause of the Nabob's already in those days insisting upon a contribution from him on account of his intrigues with, and secret adherence to, the Zamorin without the knowledge of the Company.

All this is described in detail in a special letter to Batavia, dated 18th June 1774. He really deserved for his conduct that the Company had deposed him and confiscated his territory; at any rate, if he had behaved in such a way when under the protection of any other European nation, this would undoubtedly have been his lot.

As this kingdom, on account of the port of Aycotta, is so well situated for smuggling, the Company has there the well known little fort of Cranganore in a very good position. All that comes by river from the north to the south has to pass this little fortress. Some pepper has occasionally been smuggled and it struck me that even supposing the king and his courtiers had no hand in it, they surely must have connived at it for the sake of some little present, which on account of their greed and straitened circumstances they were ready to accept. I once decided a case in this connection, as may be gathered from a resolution of the 20th February 1772, which resolution was sent on to Batavia in a letter, dated 1st May of the

[1] Cranganore is still a tiny principality. It has an area of 19 square miles and is subject to the Raja of Cochin, to whom it pays a tribute of Rs. 6,876. It is financially autonomous, but otherwise is administered as one of the taluks of the Cochin State.

same year. Since that time I have not heard much about smuggling of pepper in that part of the country; but now that the Nabob is in possession of the territory, it will be difficult to put a stop to the smuggling on that side. I must however admit that the said territory yields only a small quantity of pepper; at least the outturn is not so much that it can do appreciable harm to us.

Little important as this kinglet was, he was not to be treated quite as a negligible quantity, not because he was particularly troublesome himself, but because of his having relations with the family of the Zamorin, with whom he was in the habit of intriguing whenever he was discontented or whenever he thought that he had been wronged. The Zamorin usually backed him up in secret in one way or another, and this caused much trouble to the Company. How much the king is inwardly attached to the Zamorin could best be seen at the time of the Nabob's first and second attacks on the Zamorin. This kinglet then brought extreme misery on his own head, and all for proof of his desire to respect the secret aids and supports which he could expect from the Zamorin.

Airur.

With regard to the King of Airur in particular, his personal qualities, his origin, his way of governing are the same as those of the King of Cranganore.

His Rajadores direct affairs just as it pleases them and if anything has to be signed by the king, they put the document or ola in his hand and he signs it straight off. In the year 1774 the old king died and the heir-apparent succeeded him.

This young man began to cut capers at first. On a single subject of his living in the Company's province not putting in an appearance quickly enough at court, to mourn, as is the custom, the death of the late king, he had interdicts laid on the place of ground on which the man lived, and the crops removed, and even trees uprooted. No sooner did this come to my knowledge than I had the attachments removed and informed the king that this quasi-jurisdiction exercised without my knowledge was not permitted in our territory. I would not have been so anxious to do this under ordinary circumstances, but I was of opinion that it was not a bad thing to do in the beginning, the more so as the interdicts were laid on a place which was disputed. Since that time the young king has given up such enterprises.

At present he is still residing at what was always the place of residence, viz., in his palace on the other side of the river (backwater), and as he still has lands there which yield sufficient for his support, he does not receive any assistance from the Company, like the others, who have nothing left. It is true that every now and then he has asked for it, but I convinced him and made him see that, being more fortunate than the other kings who had lost everything, he could not expect any allowance, and since that time he has made no further application.

Cartamana.

Cartamana is one of the restless princes. I have gathered from the records that the Princes of Cartamana were always very arrogant and usually engaged in foolery and pranks. The present prince particularly knows all the tricks.

At the beginning of my administration, he was already quarrelling with the other little princes, and he was also constantly complaining first about the resident Medeler, later on about the resident Breekpot. On the one hand I understood that not only much composure but even knowledge and experience of the country are required to keep the balance in that place and among the natives; at the same time I was aware that Cartamana was not acting squarely and always gave the resident plenty to do. So I asked Cartamana to come one day or other to town and when his following had gone outside, I spoke plainly to him. On that occasion I completely unmasked him, held up before him all his pranks and broils, and showed him as it were in a mirror all his defects, in order that he might at least understand that he was known to me.

It was gratifying to me that he hardly dared to deny anything, and when I reminded him of his advanced years, and observed how disgraceful such qualities were in a man of noble birth and even more disgraceful in a grey-haired prince, he begged me not to expose him and promised to mend his ways and since then he has in fact been much more careful than before. This goes to prove that sincere speech may at times be more satisfactory than the two extremes of excessive indulgence or excessive severity.

According to a resolution of the 8th September 1777 he also receives, until further orders, a monthly allowance of Rs. 40 for his support.

These princes, together with the aforementioned landed proprietors, the Payenchery Nairs, having been expelled by the Nabob from their territories, sojourn here and there in the neighbourhood of their estates in the hope that times may change for the better. They make shift to live in a narrow way with the little the Company allows them monthly for their support with the exception of the King of Airur, who is not so badly off as the others, as has been mentioned above.

It may be objected that the foregoing about Cranganore, Airur, Cartamana and the Payencheries is of very little use nowadays, but I have thought it my duty to put down one thing and another on paper, for if affairs here change for the better, and we again get possession of the lost territory, then what is here recorded may contain information of use to the then head of the administration ; at least when I came here and could not get any proper light from the records on the mutual relations of these kings I had my work cut out to obtain a connected idea of these particulars, while without them you cannot deal with affairs satisfactorily nor feel easy in your mind or satisfied that you have acted according to conscience and duty.

CHAPTER V.

THE KOLLATIRIS AND THE ALI RAJA OF CANNANORE.

(1) *Collastry* [*Kollatiri*].

Collastry is the fourth and last of the chief kingdoms of Malabar. We have even less to do with this kingdom than with that of the Zamorin. However I have considered it my duty to mention briefly and connectedly the chief events in the same, and in what relation the Company stood to it before it was conquered; the more so, as more light will be thrown on the Ruler of the Moors [Muhammadans], Ady Raja, and his debt to the Company, also on the so-called debt of Collastry, a certain sum, which the Company still claims from the king of Collastry.

This kingdom was formerly also in a flourishing condition on account of a ready sale of the products of the land, especially pepper, cardamom and sandalwood, and the profitable and extensive trade with several districts in India.

The country stretches northwards to Cape Mount Delly nine miles to the north of Cannanore and southward to the river, which separates Cotteer and Bargara [Badagara] from one another to a length or 52 miles, and so it is situated between the kingdoms of Canara and of the Zamorin.

It is also necessary to know that the Lekkerdiva [Laccadive] Islands in former times also belonged to the Kingdom of Collastry, although the Ruler of the Moors, Ady Raja, has since become master of them.

This Ady Raja contributed not a little to the flourishing condition of this kingdom by means of his vessels which conveyed away the products of the land and brought back all kinds of saleable return-freight.

This Mahomedan in course of time became by these means so rich and powerful in relation to his kings and superiors, that in latter years he has always played the chief part in the different disturbances and dissensions with which this kingdom has had constantly to struggle.

On the arrival of the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century, the kingdom was still in a flourishing condition, but no sooner did the Portuguese get permission to build a fort at Cannanore than they not only made themselves masters of the products of the land but also of the sea-trade, so that the prosperity of the country was destroyed and the highhandedness of the Portuguese went so far that king and subjects longed to get rid of them.

This came to pass in the beginning of the year 1663 when the fortress of Cannanore was conquered by the Company's arms from the Portuguese.

Shortly afterwards the kings of Collastry made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Company[1] and later on a commercial treaty and towards the end of the year 1664 Ady Raja was also embraced in it.

But these treaties, although solemnly entered upon, were from the beginning badly carried out, notwithstanding which they were renewed in the years 1680 and 1681.

The constant quarrels between the kings, and their intrigues with our competitors began from the very outset and Ady Raja made such good use of these quarrels that he gradually strengthened himself in his bazaar, and threw up various works round about it.

These quarrels ran so high about the year 1718 that the trade of the Company at Cannanore came entirely to a standstill owing to an irreconcilable embitterment between the Nairs of Collastry and the Moors, the people of Ady Raja, on account of the murder of a Moorish priest.

The officials at Cannanore were ordered to offer the contending parties the mediation of the Company in order, if possible, to bring them to terms, but it was all in vain.

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[1] This treaty of 26 articles, dated the 26th of March, 1663, will be found on pp. 322–4 of the volume of the Batavia Diary for 1663.

The contending parties came to open conflict in the year 1721. A general attack was made on the Moors and the latter got distinctly the worst of it.

The people of Collastry were supported by the English and Ady Raja obtained assistance from us through our servants at Cannanore.

The English hoped that if the bazaar of Ady Raja was taken, it would be handed over to them.

The Nairs of Collastry ventured a general attack on the bazaar but were beaten back and in the year 1723 an agreement was made between the parties in which it was stipulated that Ady Raja should pay a good sum of money to Collastry.

This peace, however, was of short duration; for one of the discontented princes could not forget the affront received from the Moors. So hostilities began anew. Ady Raja got the worst of it at first but obtained in his turn some advantages over Collastry.

The king Zamorin sent his envoys to reconcile the parties and the mediation of the Company was also offered, but in vain, and the quarrelling parties had to be left to themselves. At last they were compelled to put aside their quarrel for some time, and to unite against the troops of the king of Canara, who in the year 1732 invaded the kingdom of Collastry with a considerable force.

The princes, assisted by the auxiliaries sent by the English and the Zamorin, offered a gallant enough defence, but were beaten and lost many men, cannon and muskets.

A short time afterwards the king of Collastry died and the fortunes of the country fell to so low an ebb that the then ruling prince surrendered his whole kingdom to the king of Canara. The Canarese captain became so formidable through this that he undertook to root out the Moors of Ady Raja and Cotteate (Kottayam); for in the territory of Cotteate, belonging to the kingdom of Collastry, there are also very many Moors.

Occasionally some skirmishes took place, and the aforesaid prince lamented when it was too late that he had submitted to the Canarese, whose object was nothing else than to exhaust the country. At last the Company also got engaged with the Canarese king, because, notwithstanding our protest, he would not give up building a fortress on the hill of Carla (Cadalay in the Tellicherry MSS.) close by Cannanore.

Subsequently peace was made between the Canarese and the Company, and on that occasion a portion of an old debt was paid to us, viz., that of a certain Canarese merchant who had obtained at Barsalore [Basrur], when we still had residents and traded in the place, some goods on credit from the Company, which had never been paid for.

Much trouble was taken to have the terms of the contract with the Canarese carried out, and to get the remainder of the money back, but in vain.

In the meantime the trouble between the Canarese and the people of Collastry continued as the proffered mediation of the Company was unsuccessful.

The Canarese were in possession of the fort on the hill of Carla near Cannanore and it was feared that if the Collastry people again became masters of it, it might fall into the hands of the English.

To prevent such a thing, the Company's forces assisted by those of Collastry took possession of the fort and destroyed it. In acknowledgment of the assistance given a contract was made with the prince of Collastry in the beginning of the year 1737 one of the conditions of which is that he must supply the Company annually with 1,000 candies of pepper.

Circumstances soon recurred in which this kingdom required further assistance from us. The king of Canara had again invaded this country. Again we on our part tried in every way to bring about peace between the parties, but all in vain: for the Canarese made preposterous demands, to which the people of Collastry refused to agree.

At last, with the aid of the English, peace was made. The king of Canara remained in possession of the conquered territory. The result was that the best [1] part of this kingdom came under the sway of the Canarese, and the worst part remained in possession of the king of Collastry.

The English also got in return for their mediation a beautiful piece of land, called Mattume.[2]

But this peace did not last long. At the end of the year 1738 and in the beginning of 1739 hostilities between the two parties had already started again. The Company received payment from the king of Canara of the 10,000 pagodas still due; a good quantity of rice was sold and the "lodge" [factory] at Barsalore was restored.

Meanwhile however the king of Canara died and the hostile operations which had been started in the kingdom of Canara had no result, but on the other hand the turbulent princes and chiefs in this kingdom began to renew their old quarrels, so that the disturbances and dissensions were as bad as ever. This state of affairs went on until the end of the year 1745, when the parties again came to an agreement.

The intrigues of Ady Raja as well as of the princes of Collastry now with the Mahrattas, then with the English and then with the French continued to go on as before.

About the years 1750 and 1751 the French at Mahé assisted the princes of Collastry against the Canarese, and obtained a settlement in the province of Ramatally [Ramadilly fort in the Tellicherry MSS.; to be identified with Alikunnu according to Logan].

The English on the contrary undertook to depose two princes, and to install another in their stead, but when their plan failed, they carried off the old king of Collastry a prisoner to Taleycheri [Tellicherry], which created no small stir. The circumstances of this nation afterwards became so much worse that they were compelled to set the imprisoned king free and finally to make peace.

In the year 1753 it looked as if the princes of Collastry and Ady Raja were going to begin again, but a rupture was prevented by our mediation and the old differences were amicably settled.

Afterwards in the year 1754, two pepper contracts were made, one with the princes of Collastry for 300 candies, and one with Ady Raja for 200. The English, being jealous, did their best to prevent these contracts being carried out.

The French, noticing that the object of the English was to alienate the princes from them, caused the ruling prince [3] to come from Bargara [Badagara] and reinstated him in his palace. The English, getting more embittered on this account, threatened Collastry with fire and sword, whereby he was frightened into making a new pepper-contract with the (Dutch) Company's servants. Affairs were then so managed, that the princes broke all engagements with the English, and made a permanent pepper contract with the Honourable Company in the year 1754. By this they agreed to supply annually 2, 3, 4 to 500 candies of pepper at $83\frac{1}{3}$ rupees a candy, and in return the Company promised to assist them, according to circumstances, with ammunition and what not.

The then chief (at Cannanore), the Worshipful Mr. Weijerman, with a good object, namely, to obtain as much pepper as possible, advanced Rs. 12,000 to the princes annually on that pepper contract, after the first supply had been sent in, and the previous accounts had been liquidated. This had not been stipulated for in that contract; but in the contract made with Ady Raja later on in the year 1755 it was one of the special conditions, as will be more fully related in the chapter about this chief.

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[1] "Derde" on p. 47 of the Dutch printed in Vol. 2 of this series is a misprint for "beste."

[2] Possibly Maddacara, an island in the backwater near Beliapatam (Tellicherry Diary for 5th July 1737, excerpt, in Logan III. 28)

[3] *Ruling Prince*: Dutch: Prins Regent: *cf.* Report of Malabar Commission, dated 11th October 1793, paragraph 11: "as . . . . the Chief Rajah is generally superanouated either the heir apparent or one of the younger Rajahs is often invested, under the title of Regent, with the active part of the administration of Government."

For three consecutive years both the princes and Ady Raja carried out these contracts, but not long afterwards Ady Raja made default in supplying pepper in settlement of his arrears, and was continually intriguing with our competitors, and created with the aid of the English divisions among the princes of Collastry, and even began to lord it over the kingdom and engaged in all kinds of mischief.

The supply of pepper from the princes of Collastry also failed entirely and the arrogance of Ady Raja reached such a point that he collected revenues belonging to the princes and set a golden knob on his mosque in the bazaar on purpose to show his contempt for the worship of the heathens.

And as he paid no respect to the mediation of the Company and would not remove the said rock of offence, namely, the golden knob, the princes of Collastry with their allies, aided by the English, at last made an attack on Ady Raja and besieged him in his bazaar near Cannanore. But before long the princes found themselves short of money. Their appeals for further assistance to the Honourable Company, their allies and the English were all in vain.

The youngest ruling prince, overcome with chagrin on account of the ill-success of his enterprises, left his territory and went to Travancore, and begged his uncle to settle as best as he could the differences with the Moors. And so Ady Raja was offered peace, accepted it, and once more peace was so far restored in the land.

But Ady Raja now lorded it over the country quite openly and had lost all fear of the Company and the princes of the country.

The princes of Collastry were in the meantime constantly pressed to continue supplying pepper and to make up their arrears, but it was in vain, for they always excused themselves on the plea of their inability.

When in the year 1763 Nabob Hyder Aly Khan had suddenly taken possession of Bidrur (Bednore, properly Bidurúru), the capital and residency-town of Canara, Ady Raja made up his mind, if not to gain possession of the kingdom of Collastry with the assistance of this conqueror, at least to obtain as a reward the administration of it.

With this object in view, he went to meet the Nabob, offered him valuable presents and received promises of assistance. Meanwhile the ruling prince of Collastry, as soon as he returned from the King of Travancore, was taken with the help of an English detachment to his palace and replaced in charge of the administration. The English in return received an exclusive commercial contract. This was, however, of little use to them, for in the beginning of 1766 the Nabob suddenly and almost without a blow made himself master of the Kingdom of Collastry. When they heard of the approach of the Nabob's troops, the ruling prince with the whole royal family took to flight and betook himself to the King of Travancore.

In this way this kingdom came to ruin and fell into the hands of an usurper whilst Ady Raja obtained the management and the administration.

Ady Raja was however negligent in paying tribute to the Nabob, and the management of Collastry was taken away from him and was recently offered again to the ruling prince on the condition that he should annually pay the tribute, which had been imposed on Ady Raja, whereupon the prince left Travancore and has returned to his kingdom.[1]

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[1] The following account of these transactions in a letter of the 2nd April 1780, written by the Tellicherry factors and inserted in their Diary, may be compared :—

"The Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn having in the beginning of the year 1766 dispossessed the Prince of Cherrika of his possessions he retired to Tellicherry with his family and in March of that year he went to Travancore, from whence he returned in June 1767 to Tellicherry and was permitted to take up his abode at the Brass Pagoda, and maintained at the Company's expense, till the month of March 1774, at which time Hyder Ally once more entered the Malabar country and arrived at Cotiote. The Prince of Cherrika . . . . . . went to the Nabob, with whom he had made his peace . . . . The Prince accordingly obtained from the Nabob the Cotiote country . . . . The Prince encouraged by this success, and being desirous of recovering his dominions of Colastria, went to Seringapatam in the year 1776 and found means to obtain from the Nabob a grant of that country upon terms of a yearly tribute and a sum of money immediately . . . . . this country was under the Government of Ally Rajah from the year 1766 till the above period when it was taken from him and given to the Prince because he failed in the payment of his tribute." (MS. Diary in the Madras Government's records.)

So it is that the princes of Collastry are in the debt of the Honourable Company, both on account of cash advances on the contract or supply of pepper and also assistance in ammunition on credit, total Rs. 14,047–14.

They also owed ex-Chief (of Cannanore) the Worshipful Mr. Weijerman personally Rs. 10,080–10–0 besides Rs. 4,400–7–8 on gold articles pledged. I mention this only *en passant*, for these private affairs are in the hands of his attorneys, but hitherto he has received just as little as the Company. In a secret letter from Their Right Worshipfuls, dated 26th September 1768, the above-mentioned Rs. 14,047–14–0 were left to the Worshipful Mr. Weijerman in compensation, but at the same time this Government was instructed to look upon this debt as one on which the Honourable Company lays direct claim, and to make all endeavours to collect it.

The Moor Chief Ady Raja.

As regards this personage in particular, it is necessary to know something about his rise, his riches and his relations with the Company. He is of Collastry extraction. For a certain princess of this dynasty on account of having had to do with a person of lower standing, had lost her caste or nobility, and in order to some extent to cover up the disgrace, she was given in wedlock to a rich Arabian Moor, on whom was conferred the title of prince and the general name of Ady Raja. meaning in that country as much as head of the Moors of that kingdom [really Ali Raja = Sea-king].

Further he obtained for his maintenance the Lekkerdiva [Laccadive] Islands and some estates round about Cannanore. And this is the reason that he is still the possessor of these islands, and bears the title of Sultan of the Lekkerdiva Islands, just as the owner of the Maldive Islands is called the Sultan of the Maldives ; who by the way has been more than once attacked by Ady Raja, and has to be constantly on his guard against him.

In this way this Moor Ruler has from the very beginning been placed in a high position and has always had a great influence on the affairs of the kingdom of Collastry. Add to this his extensive sea and land trade and it is not surprising that Ady Raja was always greatly respected and feared by his Suzerains, and not only became rich and powerful thereby, but has also caused the whole kingdom to flourish.

This lasted however only till the advent of the Portuguese, by whom both he and the prince of Collastry were much oppressed, and even the trade by sea was checked. But no sooner was this nation expelled than his affairs changed for the better. For, as has been mentioned above under the heading " Collastry ", when a treaty of peace and friendship was made between Collastry and the Company, he was also included, and free sea-trade was again accorded to him under certain restrictions.

With regard to his relations with the Company he has been as unfaithful as all the other native princes and always knew how to put down the small pepper supply to one cause or another, but usually he laid the blame on the disturbed state of the country, because it was notorious. The real cause however was that he secretly sold his produce to others, who offered him more than the Company had stipulated for.

From what has been mentioned about him under the heading " Collastry ", it will be seen what intrigues and sharp practices this Moor Chief has always indulged in and apart from this he has such a bad reputation all over Malabar that one hardly hears anything except evil of him. Especially the last Ady Raja, who died in the month of October 1778, was of a very cruel character and was besides a great spendthrift, who could not keep money.

In the year 1742 although a mere youth, he succeeded to the throne, and within a short time he became such a nuisance to the Company, that in the year 1745 it was resolved to refuse passes for his vessels.

This had apparently a good effect, for in the year 1750 he let application be made for a renewal of the Company's old friendship, which was granted to him provided he would see to it that all the cardamom growing in his territory should

be supplied to the Honourable Company. In the year 1752 he even made a new pepper-contract with our Chief at Cannanore and remained neutral in the disputes between the English and the princes of Collastry.

The following year the princes laid an interdict on all the estates of Ady Raja. He was greatly distressed about this and sought the Company's assistance. The Company intervened and the old disputes were settled. Immediately after this, in the beginning of the year 1755, a solemn contract was made with Ady Raja, in which he promised to supply annually 2, 3 to 400 candies of pepper at Rs. $83\frac{1}{3}$ a candy, also 10 candies of cardamom at market-rates, and on both these consignments he was to get in advance, early in the year, Rs. 12,000.

It has been mentioned under Collastry that shortly after this he became very negligent in supplying us with pepper and played all kinds of nasty tricks, and when Nabob Hyder Alyckan came down and conquered the kingdom of Collastry, even managed to obtain the administration of this country. By accepting this, he became responsible for the debt of Collastry besides his own debt to the Company.

It is true that, when Mr. Senff [Moens' predecessor] came down from Surat and stayed a little while at Cannanore and had an interview with Ady Raja, Ady Raja promised to supply 250 candies of pepper, which in fact were supplied and were shipped by the vessel *Popkensburg*, and paid for by our officials, but also asked for some ammunition and some other articles to the value of Rs. 17,360–27 which he promised to pay for with pepper, or, in case of default, in cash, so that it seems that he has only been trying all the time to get either money or goods out of the Company.

The insignificant amount of produce collected, the small demand for merchandise at Cannanore, and the constant troubles we had, gave occasion to the proposal to rid ourselves of Cannanore and to dispose of the fortress to some one or other for a certain sum of money. This Their Right Worshipfuls sanctioned in a special letter, dated 3rd August 1770.

The fortress of Cannanore was accordingly disposed of before the departure of Mr. Senff for the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 to Ady Raja. He paid part of this sum, and for the remainder and for that, which we had advanced to him before, he gave us a bond for Rs. 56,24,530/48 or 67,494 : 15 guilders, and we lived in hope that he would soon pay off this debt, the more so as he had given in pledge one of his vessels, which lay here in the river.

However after much trouble, writing and earnest exhortations, all we got was that this new debt was reduced by his sending us some cardamom, rice and other merchandise, which were sold off, to a balance of 52,677 : 6 : guilders. Since then till the year 1779 nothing more has been received from him in spite of all our endeavours, and he has even left the letters of the Company without any answer at all, in the most shameless way, however insistently we wrote.

To give a better idea of the debts of Ady Raja I refer, to avoid detailed quotations, to the resolutions passed in Council here on the 1st February 1769 and 22nd January 1770 and also the letters from Batavia, dated 26th September 1768, 26th September 1769, 25th September 1770, 1st October 1771, 25th September 1772, 30th September 1773, 30th September 1774, 20th September 1775, 11th November 1776 and 30th September 1777; and those from here to Batavia, dated 11th March and 10th May 1769, 15th March 1770, 31st March 1771, 1st May 1772, 25th March 1773, 28th March 1779, 1st January 1775, 4th January 1776, 2nd January 1777 and 2nd January 1778.

We sent information annually to Batavia about the neglect of Ady Raja to pay off even these his new debts, and at last Their Right Worshipfuls decided to transfer the sum of 52,677 : 6 : guilders from the inheritance of the late Mr. Senff to the Company's credit, recommending this Government however to continue to do their utmost to secure the money.

Then Ady Raja died in 1778 and this was reported to Batavia and Their Right Worshipfuls ordered this Government in a despatch, dated 24th September 1779, to sell the vessel pledged by Ady Raja. Before this was done, however, Ady Raja's successor, his niece and ruler of Cannanore, was approached with a

request to settle the account. The letters exchanged are transcribed in the resolutions of the 12th and 25th April together with those of the 20th September and 24th November. But as only promises followed and not the smallest payment in reduction of the debt, the vessel was put up for sale, on which account the ruling Bibi [1] has since declared herself much displeased. The vessel and appurtenances fetched to our astonishment Rs. 12,450 and this sum was handed over to the heirs of the late Mr. Senff by the High Indian Government and deducted from the outstanding debt, besides Rs. 2,436 3/7 which, by order of the High Indian Government, conveyed in an extract from the Minutes of Consultation of the Council of India, dated the 7th September 1778, were paid by the members of the council here who had signed the Resolution under which credit was given to Ady Raja. After deducting these two items, the amount still due is Rs. 31,447 3/4 or 37,737-6 guilders in Dutch money [*i.e.*, heavy guilders not the light guilders of some of the accounts kept in India].

But besides this Ady Raja owes other sums to the Company and also to the late Mr. Weijerman, as former chief at Cannanore. For greater clearness I show the various sums here below, viz. :—

To the Company—		GLDS.
His recently-contracted debt		37,737-6
His former debt, or money advanced on the pepper contract		14,400-0
Advanced to Collastry		17,336-19
Balance due to the Company ...		69,474-5
Private—	GLDS.	
To Mr. Weijerman Rs. 11,080-30 or ...	13,296-8.	
Excess advances by Mr. Weijerman in addition to the amount to be advanced according to the terms of the contract and settled with the Honourable Company by the same, Indian money (*i.e.*, light guilders, Rs. 1,945—12—8, Dutch money (*i.e.*, heavy guilders)	1,556-9.	
		14,852-17
Total amount, without counting what Collastry owed on private account to Mr. Weijerman, Dutch money		84,327-2

It is to be hoped that an opportunity may occur to recover this money and also the old debt of Ady Raja, in order that the heirs of the above-mentioned late Messrs. Senff and Weijerman may not sustain any loss. However in the present state of affairs there seems to be hardly a possibility of recovering any portion of that money. I am even of opinion that there is no other means of obtaining it than by attaching his vessels, when they enter our harbour. But even of this there seems very little hope, for his vessels have for some time not put into this harbour or even the roadstead, which is doubtless by his express order, lest they be seized.

These aforesaid kings, both great and small, have always belonged to Malabar. Of late however the famous Nabob Hyder Alykhan has played so extraordinary a part that this period has been one of the most remarkable in the history of Malabar. For not only is he at present master of the Collastry and Zamorin kingdoms, but he has also only recently made the king of Cochin tributary to him with regard to his territory to the north of Cranganore, has attacked the possessions of the Company, has taken possession of the territory between Cranganore and Chettua, and even the fortress of Chettua, and has even tried to break through, near Cranganore, in order to invade the kingdom of Travancore. I must therefore deal specially here with this Hyder Alykhan.

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[1] Title of female chiefs of Cannanore. The present representative of the family (1909) is known as the Bibi.

CHAPTER VI.

HYDER ALYKHAN.[1]

There is much to be said of Hyder Alykhan, but I will confine myself to his rise, actions and personal qualities; from which what he has undertaken against us, how he was checked and the present position will at the same time appear at one view as a connected whole.

His rise he owes to the kingdom of Mysore. His birthplace was Cholbalapur, situated in that kingdom. It is generally said that he is of low birth and served as a common trooper. But this was only a rumour spread by the English, who have depicted him as a low and contemptible person. I have made careful enquiries about him and found that, although he is an adventurer, usurper and upstart, he is of a decent, or at least not of a low family. His father was in the service of the king of Mysore, was governor of a province and also had under him a corps of sepoys, in which Hyder (then called simply so) served in his youth as an officer. Afterwards he became captain of a corps of 500 sepoys, with which he entered the service of the French Company about the year 1751, and applied himself diligently to the science of war and observed everything carefully. A short time after he left the French and joined the English service, where he increased his corps to 3,000 men, provided his men with artillery, further informed himself of everything that belongs to warfare and in this way soon got an idea of European tactics, so that he was able to manoeuvre fairly regularly and did much execution with his corps of 3,000 men. well provided with artillery. wherever he was employed or stationed.

When he was still with the English, he got tidings that the Mahrattas with a strong pillaging party had invaded his fatherland, that is the kingdom of Mysore. He left the English and marched quickly to his country where he arrived unexpectedly with his well-trained troops, and so surprised the Mahrattas, who withdrew from Mysore with all speed. By this feat he made himself a great name and reputation, but at the same time incurred the jealousy and bitter envy of the Mysore courtiers and this last circumstance laid the foundation of his further success as it made him act the part of a desperado and set himself up as a usurper. For the courtiers, not being able to bear that he should be the first favourite of the king and be looked upon by the people as the saviour of the country, took counsel together how to bring him into disgrace with the prince and then to make away with him. They considered with the deepest cunning how to set to work and made their attempt where man is weakest, *viz.*, in love of self and aversion to allow others to share in his concerns; they made the king understand and believe from all kinds of specious circumstances that Hyder went pregnant with projects to draw to himself the love of the people, to keep his grip on the military force and to rob the king of his crown. They even told him that he had already secretly taken the necessary steps to this end and that the execution of the plan might be expected at any moment, and could be averted only by making away with Hyder without a moment's delay.

The king was weak enough to take the bait, and to make up his mind to help Hyder suddenly out of the world. However Hyder discovered the plot in the nick of time and was compelled, to save his life, to flee to a considerable distance in all haste with 25 resolute troopers just as the attack was about to be made on him.

But as he now knew of what he had been suspected and remembered the good services he had done to his king and found by experience how badly he was rewarded, and how little reliance he could place on his master, he resolved to set on foot

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[1] Moens' information about the early life and career of Hyder Ali seems to be derived only from the personal enquiries he mentions, is not altogether in accordance with the received accounts, and is of no particular importance. For the period from 1763 to 1781, however, he seems to have obtained his information from the Cochin records. From 1771 to 1781 he was himself Governor and naturally knew what documents to turn to for this account. A lengthy précis of the information about Hyder Ali in the Dutch records from 1763 to 1774 exists (MS. No. 720 published as No. 5 in this series). It is undated, but was apparently drawn up in 1774. A comparison with this account will show many close verbal resemblances and Moens probably used it. His own account, after the first two or three pages, is in fact a summary of the facts recorded from time to time by the Cochin Secretariat and Dutch residents at different places or Dutch commanders in the field, and is of great historical value; *e.g.*, the short paragraph about the Dutch expedition against Hyder's garrison at Chetway in January 1778 on page 161-2 below is a summary of and may be compared with 86 pages of letter and reports on the subject in MS. No. 1054.

just that of which he had been suspected and to take vengeance for the evil they had intended him. The reputation he had won gave him an opportunity of carrying out these designs and before the incident was known throughout the kingdom he had in a moment collected his corps again and had even increased it with soldiers, whom he had been able to recruit in the meantime, and who willingly took service under him. With this force he now openly revolted against his king, but pretended that he only intended to wage war against the ministers, who, as he said, gave bad advice to, and misled the king and would be the cause of the king's ruin. So the people took no unfavourable view of his operations, and in a short time he conquered the whole of the kingdom of Mysore. He even took the king prisoner, but did not ill-treat him, though he had him kept in custody on the plea that he was a mere child and had not sufficient understanding to govern his country and Hyder should administer it for him and on his behalf. This he does to this day in the name of the heir of the king who has since died. The prince, who is still young, is kept in splendour but at the same time very carefully guarded. These then are the events and the beginnings which led to the greatness he has since attained.

What we know of his doings and the manner in which he has extended his warlike operations would alone afford ample matter for a circumstantial historical monograph. I will confine myself to describing how, after having become master of the kingdom of Mysore, he has acted his part till the present time.

No sooner then had he become master of the kingdom of Mysore, than he swept away everything that lay in his path. He was still fortunate enough to enjoy the confidence of the people on account of his former services, but he also employed a little policy to secure their good-will more and more. For although he was a Moor or Muhamedan and the kingdom of Mysore is a heathen country, in which, as is well-known, cows are not eaten, much less killed, he gave out at once strict orders against the killing of cows and announced at the same time that every one was free in the exercise of his religion and if he was obstructed in it, he might complain direct to himself and would obtain satisfaction.

Meanwhile he was hankering after the very rich kingdom of Canara, which at that time was governed by a queen.

In order to give to this new enterprise some show of justice, he gave out that the legal heir to the kingdom of Canara, who had been lost some years before, was with him and that he wanted to put him on the throne. On this plea he suddenly at the end of the year 1762 took Bidrur [Bednore, properly Bidur-úru, bamboo-town], the usual residence of the queen of that kingdom. The queen, who had just time to flee with most of her treasures, was quickly followed and overtaken with them. This success was shortly afterwards followed by the surrender of the whole country through the pusillanimity of the Canarese. In this country he found indescribable treasures; besides Canara is one of the countries most favoured by nature, most fertile and most rich, it may be, which lie on this side of the Peninsula. He was now the possessor of those formidable and famous kingdoms, Mysore and Canara.

His first care was to secure and fortify the capital of Bidrur, the four ports of Canara, viz., Onor [Honavar], Barsalore [Basrur], Bakkanore [Barkur] and Mangalore, with the frontiers of the uplands, and especially Mangalore. He also made himself strong at sea at the same time by building some ships, palens, gallevats [1] and other vessels, and extracted their riches from the nobles by forcible means, and in this way he became gradually more powerful and formidable; so much so that the Portuguese assisted him on the sly by allowing many private soldiers and even officers to enter his service in order to keep this dangerous conqueror their friend. They have however since found that he has respected or spared them on this account no more than any other European nation.

At that time the Company still had an interpreter at Barsalore, where they had had a "lodge" (factory) before. While he was busy fortifying Canara, he thought

[1] *Palens* I take to be what the English records call balloons. *Balloon* as well as *palen* I take to be derived from the Portuguese *ballao*. *Ballao* (which also means balloon in Portuguese) is from the common Malayalam *vallam*, the ordinary country boat used on the backwaters. *Gallevats* are large row-boats; see note on page 69 above.

of the Company, and had our interpreter assured of his good intentions and inclination towards the Company. He was then in Mangalore and sent for our interpreter, repeated his assurances of his good will towards the Company, but insisted at the same time on a supply of 1,000 grenadiers' muskets. This was reported to Batavia and it was suggested that it might be worth while to have him complimented on behalf of the Company and to enter into negotiations with him.

But their Right Worshipfuls, understanding at once that he was not a man with whom the Company, following their existing policy, could work, recommended that endeavours should be made to keep him in that disposition which he professed towards the Company, without in any way flattering him and that his demands for war material should be refused in the most suitable manner, with the remark that it was not in the Company's interest to set up any further establishment between Surat and Cochin, and that we could not depend on the friendship of this conqueror for long, but at the same time, neutrality must be kept in view.

It was at this time that Hyder discovered a conspiracy against his life by eighteen prominent Canarese noblemen, who wanted to do away with him by intrigues, which are very common among the heathen. As soon as he discovered this plan, he took the severest measures for their punishment, put them to death with the most horrible tortures, and declared their considerable wealth which they had hidden, confiscated.

He next conquered the territories of Sounur and Wengapur, situated to the north of Canara. He then marched unexpectedly to the north, and in a short time conquered the kingdom of Sunda. The king fled to Goa and there, with the secret co-operation of the Portuguese, made an alliance with the Mahrattas against Hyder. This happened in the beginning of the year 1764.

The chiefs of Molandm and Bonsolo also joined the alliance. The Portuguese too sent some men on the sly to join them, in order to give Hyder a sensible nip where it was possible; for he was already with his army near the frontiers of Goa. An encounter took place here which did not fall out to the advantage of Hyder.

Later on the Portuguese perceived that it was not their business to trouble themselves with the affairs of Hyder, changed their policy and tried to make an agreement with him, but without result, and the Nabob remained in possession of Sunda.

Among his soldiers were, even at that time, European deserters of different nations. Besides those who had joined him from Goa with the consent of the Portuguese he was particularly well provided with Frenchmen. For he was usually in correspondence with the French both at Mahé and Pondicherry, always having the Nabob of the Carnatic, Mahomet Ali, in view when he was making conquests and knowing how strongly opposed the French were to this Nabob, and in this way he succeeded in obtaining from them many Europeans and much war material. The French for their part also constantly kept an eye on Hyder Alykhan in order to make use of him in time and when circumstances changed. And this was the reason why he had, as has been said, a fine troop of Frenchmen in his army. It was about this time that that well-known incident took place, viz., that 400 of these Frenchmen, cavalry and infantry, deserted with their horses and weapons and sought refuge in Goa, being discontented on account of ill-treatment.

Meanwhile the Moorish ruler Ady Raja went in person to him, as I have already noted in my account of that person. It transpired afterwards that he was then intriguing to obtain control over the kingdom of Collastry, in case it should be conquered by the Nabob.

At last an agreement was made between the Nabob on the one hand and the Mahrattas together with the allied princes on the other, but immediately thereon he prepared himself again to extend his conquests, without any one knowing in what direction. Shortly afterwards, however, it appeared that his aim was Malabar, for all of a sudden he marched off southwards in the month of February 1766 and made himself master, unexpectedly, of the kingdom of Collastry. Whilst the king and his family escaped to the kingdom of Travancore, the administration of Collastry was handed over to the aforesaid Ruler of the Moors, Ady Raja.

Meanwhile the Nabob held his forces under control, and in this way induced the inhabitants, who had fled, to return to their country. Once, however, the Nairs of Collastry united, made a rush on the troops of the Nabob, and put to the sword about a hundred men. The Nabob took vengeance at once and gave orders that all Nairs indiscriminately should be murdered. A horrible massacre followed and they were so frightened that everyone, who could escape, fled, everyone who could find a hiding place, hid himself, and when the massacre was put a stop to, they slowly appeared again and afterwards kept quiet. Since that time the subjects of Collastry have always kept quiet and submitted to the yoke of their new master, although they are subject to heavy taxes, since Ady Raja had agreed, when he took over the administration, to pay so large an annual tribute that it was almost impossible to raise it and he was consequently always in arrears.

Hyder then marched against the kingdom of the Zamorin, appeared before Tellicherry and encamped his army on the river there, which separates the kingdom of the Zamorin from that of Collastry.

But the Zamorin and the further[1] princes of Collastry assembled and pitched their camps on this side of the river, in order to prevent the Nabob crossing it. It was anticipated at that time that he would have his work cut out for him and must lose many men before he could cross. Nevertheless he crossed the river shortly afterwards with some loss, marched straight on, fought his way through the united forces of the Zamorin and the Collastry Nairs, and such a slaughter took place that few escaped. The few who had fled were pursued by his horsemen and most of them were put to the sword. He then marched further southwards. Everything in the kingdom of the Zamorin gave way before him, and so on the 20th April 1766 he arrived at Calicut, and became with little effort master of the whole kingdom of the Zamorin, so that he was then already master of half the coast of Malabar.

In conquering the kingdom of the Zamorin, he captured also the king, whom he treated with contempt, kept a prisoner in his own palace, mocked and threatened to flog as a common Malabari unless he pointed out his treasures. Thereupon the Zamorin committed suicide as has been related in Chapter IV.

After this he had an encounter with the English at Tellicherry. They wanted to interfere with his affairs and dislodge some of his people, who were encamped in a pagoda near by. The English, however, got the worst of it and were put to flight in utter confusion, leaving behind 3 metal cannon and 2 mortars.

The Nairs of the Zamorin, however, did not remain quiet and were continually pillaging the country. Several skirmishes took place, but no sooner did the forces of the Nabob make a formidable attack, than the Nairs retreated into the woods and the mountains. But as the Mahrattas were again assembling to fight Hyder and he had therefore to send all his force to the north, the heir apparent (who held himself near at hand, though in the kingdom of Travancore, namely in the Paru [Parur] district) was restored on condition that he should pay tribute to the Nabob.

Meanwhile, before the Mahrattas were in the field, we were afraid that this conqueror would extend his conquests to the south We resolved therefore to have him complimented on his conquests by special commissioners and to see whether his further intentions could be fathomed. He was then still at Calicut, where he received our commissioners politely and replied favourably to their proposals.

The chief objects of this commission were to inform him what privileges the Company possessed from of old in the Zamorin's country, and that the kings of Cochin and Travancore were the allies of the Company, and to request that the stretch of land from Chettua to Cranganore should be respected and the aforesaid kings left unmolested.

His answer was briefly to this effect—

(1) That he was prepared to make a perpetual alliance with the Company and to supply us with the products of his country, provided he also should be accommodated whenever he stood in need of anything.

(2) That if the Company required it, he would assist it with 30,000 soldiers and with his fleet, provided he might expect the same from the Company.

[1] "Verdere" is used in the Dutch; somewhat ambiguously.

(3) That if he should advance further south, the Company should provide him with 1,000 men (Europeans) whom he would himself pay and maintain.

(4) That if he passed through the territory of Chettua, he would not molest the vassals and subjects of the Company, and would not disturb the possessions of the king of Cochin, out of respect for the Company.

N.B.—It is striking that he did not name Travancore, but only Cochin. This goes to prove that at that time he already had his eye on that country, in which grows so much pepper. It ought also to be remarked that he did not promise to refrain from marching his soldiers across our territory, but only in case he passed through our territory not to do harm to the inhabitants. This proves that it was by no means his intention then to respect the Company's territory.

(5) That he was even prepared to cede more territory to the Company than it now has.

(6) That he conceded us freedom to trade so far as his territory stretched to the north, or in course of time might stretch.

(7) That we might restore our residency at Barsalore [Basrur] and build a residency also at Panany [Ponnani] or at Calicut, and more such concessions.

In a word he was already trying to do at that time, what he has always tried to do since, *viz.*, to get the Company on to his line and induce it to make an offensive and defensive treaty with him. He also wrote a letter to Batavia about this.

To all this we replied with the greatest politeness and with regard to his most important proposals he was told that we would address Batavia.

His promises, especially of not doing any harm to the king of Cochin, he later on made conditional; for he desired that some contribution should be paid to him in compensation for his war-expenditure and that the Company should not only take on itself the mediation in this, but should prevail on Travancore also to pay a substantial sum. He added also that if the latter was not inclined to pay, he would pay him a visit. His demands at the time were for four lakhs and eight elephants from the King of Cochin and fifteen lakhs and thirty elephants from the King of Travancore.

We proposed these conditions to the princes, but Travancore declared that he had given this conqueror no reason to demand money from him; that being tributary to Nabob Mahomet Aly [of the Carnatic], he could not pay tribute to both sides; that he was, however, prepared to send envoys with a present to the Nabob and at the same time make proposals to him for reinstating the kings of Collastry and the Zamorin for a substantial sum, which these princes should pay him, provided the Nabob should then leave Malabar and return to the north. Travancore also added as a special condition that the Company should allow its envoys to accompany his. The king of Cochin replied that he left his affairs to the Company, asking us at the same time to procure the restoration of Collastry and the Zamorin.

But we understood that nothing could come of such negotiations, that the Nabob demanded too much and the aforesaid kings would offer little or nothing, and that we might in this way get ourselves into a difficult position and easily take a step at variance with neutrality. We resolved not to send envoys on behalf of the Company along with those of others, but to leave things as they were and await their Right Worshipfuls' orders. Cochin and Travancore were so informed and thereupon they also declined to send envoys to the Nabob. We therefore simply informed the Nabob that we had made known his proposals to the Kings of Cochin and Travancore. All this was written in detail to Batavia. The letter of the Nabob and his presents were also forwarded as may be seen in the special letters to Batavia of that time, *viz.*, of the year 1766.

In the year 1766 in the month of October (for October is a seasonable time to start operations, because the good monsoon [season] begins about that time) we thought he was going to attack Travancore and Cochin. But in the month of January 1767 he got tidings that the Mahrattas and the Nabob of the Deccan, Nizam Aly, were approaching in order to invade Mysore. He at once moved off with his army and threw himself with it into his capital Seringapatnam, where he was blockaded and surrounded. Two months afterwards he found means to rid himself with money of the enemy, who thereupon departed.

Meanwhile, that is, while he was still engaged with the Mahrattas, there arrived from Batavia at the beginning of the year 1767 a letter, accompanied by presents in return for his, for the Nabob.

On the 10th February 1767 his fleet consisting of 28 vessels appeared in the roadstead here. Two envoys from the fleet came on shore to inform us that their fleet had come in search of the Mahrattas and to protect this coast. The following day they sailed again to the north and, as in the meantime the Nabob had come to terms with the Mahrattas, we have not heard of the fleets making further search for one another.

His hands being free again, he induced the aforesaid Nabob Nizam Aly of the Deccan to join in an attack on Nabob Mahomet Aly and the English, and first to conquer the Trisnopally [Trichinopoly] and the Madura country. They marched off together and on that occasion Nizam Aly got from the Mogul, through his influence, the insignia of a Nabob and a cloak of honour for Hyder Alykhan. From that time forward he really first bore the title of Nabob.

Together they marched against Trichinopoly, where the English and Mahomet Aly were encamped and so it came to a pitched battle. Nizam Aly fled quickly and in good time and Hyder Alykhan had to retreat with great loss to Mysore. Meanwhile Nizam Aly offered a good sum of money to the English and Mahomet Aly, through which he got off scot free.

The English and Mahomet Aly marched to the Mysore country and besieged Hyder Alykhan in his frontier fortress of Bengalur [Bangalore] where he offered a valiant resistance. One of his sons did the besiegers every sort of damage. The English, in order to give him work on both sides, equipped a fleet at Bombay in the month of March 1768, and having captured a part of the fleet of the Nabob, effected a landing at the fortress of Mangalore which they took, and wherein they maintained themselves as well as outside in the entrenchments till the month of July. But the son of the Nabob with a good number of troops, cavalry and infantry, surprised them in the entrenchments and took the same. The majority of the English were cut off from the fortress, put to the sword or taken prisoners, and the result was that the English had to abandon the fort and flee to Bombay in a vessel, that lay in the river, leaving everything behind them. The Europeans, who were taken prisoners, were conducted inland, and badly treated. The topasses,[1] who had been in their service, had their noses and ears cut off and were then contemptuously sent back. The troops of the Nabob then marched across Mysore to the coast of Coromandel, laid waste the land right up to the gates of Madras and stopped the supplies destined for the army besieging Bangalore, where the English made little progress.

When affairs were in this condition the parties proceeded to negotiate and made peace with a treaty of the month of April 1769, the contents of which were for some time unknown to us. We only knew that its terms were not very favourable to the English, and that the King of Travancore, as being tributary to Mahomet Aly, was also included in that treaty. When we got an opportunity to secure a copy of it, we found that Travancore is specially included in the first article of that treaty as a friend of Mahomet Aly.

No sooner did Hyder Alykhan have his hands free than he again got engaged in war with the Mahrattas. This war lasted till the beginning of the year 1773, when he made peace for a considerable sum of money. During this period of seven years, or since the Nabob had left the Zamorin's country and marched north, the Zamorin had not paid a penny of his annual tribute to the Nabob, just as if the Nabob's dance with the Mahrattas were going to continue for ever, but lived on quite unconcerned.

But it was not long before the Nabob sent his general to Palcatchery [Palghat] to attack the Zamorin When the Zamorin heard this he asked the French at Mahé to help him and concluded a treaty with Governor Duprat, who had just arrived from France, on the 12th January 1774, by which he submitted himself, his country and subjects to the king of France, and obtained promises of protection against his enemies. After this treaty was made, M. Duprat went with a detachment to Calicut,

[1] Portuguese half-castes, freed slaves, etc., employed as troops.

where he was politely received by the Zamorin, who handed over the administration of his country to M Duprat, whereupon that gentleman at once hoisted French flags everywhere and took possession of the Zamorin's fort at Calicut. After this he informed the Nabob's general that he had taken the Zamorin under his protection on behalf of the king of France. The general however troubled himself little about this, but continued his march towards Calicut. M. Duprat went to meet the general, and thought he would stay his further march by a colloquy, but found he was mistaken. So he returned to Calicut and manned the fort, which was summoned to surrender by the general and deserted in haste by the French on the 19th of the same month. They retired to Mahé on the vessel by which they had arrived. On this occasion the French flags were treated contemptuously and the Pondicherry administration have since sent bitter complaints about it to the Nabob, who did not take the least notice.

The Zamorin hereupon left Calicut, which, together with the whole of the kingdom, was again taken by the Nabob, and was subsequently administered by one of the Nabob's governors.

When the Zamorin fled, he wanted to take shelter in our territory, but I diverted him from it. So he retired with his family by sea to the south on a native vessel to the kingdom of Travancore, where, with the connivance of that ruler, he still resides.

In the meantime the king of Cochin was asked for two lakhs of rupees and a few elephants, which he promised and later on actually gave with the king of Travancore's knowledge, who not only advised him to do so, but also lent him money for it, in order to induce the Nabob not to come further south than the Zamorin's country.

In the month of March, the kinglet of Cranganore was also asked for one lakh of rupees and two elephants, as I came to hear later on. He was asked for this on account of certain promises, which he had made without the Company's knowledge when the Nabob marched up in the year 1766.

Meanwhile the king of Cranganore was being coerced to pay the sum demanded, and as this kinglet had been under the special protection of the Company since the year 1717, I tried all I could to save him, but without success. For the Nabob's general sent some armed sepoys to the other side of the river of Chettua, through the territory of the king of Cochin, and also some to this side of the river across the territory behind Paponetty, to Cranganore

In these circumstances the kinglet of Cranganore left his court, went to the Nabob's general, who lay on the other side of the river near Chettua, and arranged the matter with a bond for 50,000 rupees, to be paid in two instalments.

But the Nabob's general, seeking to pick a quarrel with the Company, complained that we had allowed the Zamorin to traverse our territory, and that he had concealed his treasures with the inhabitants in different places in our territory. Hereupon I asked him to point them out to me, assuring him that I would order the places to be searched in the presence of his representatives, which has also taken place in order to measure to him with full measure.

How much trouble I have had at that time both on account of the chief of Cranganore and in keeping the Zamorin out of our territory, in order not to give reason for complaints and to maintain the authority of the Company, and what I was then constantly writing both to the Nabob and to his general and also to our residents in the north, may be seen more fully in a special letter to Batavia, dated the 18th January 1774.

Meanwhile I began to discover the Nabob's coolness towards us more and more and I was strengthened in my belief first by his not once answering my letters, and secondly because I came to hear of various offensive discourses of his ministers.

At last I got on the track of the reasons for his coolness, and understood that it was not only the Company's not taking advantage of his former proposals, but also his never having received presents in return for those he had sent to Batavia in 1766; which he looked upon as an insult.

I made enquiries about this and found that presents in return had in fact arrived from Batavia, but that when they arrived he was engaged in war with the Mahrattas, which was perhaps the excuse for not sending them off then. However it seems that the then administration at first intended to forward them; for I find that in a letter then sent to the King of Coimbatore (who at that time was more or less in charge of the Nabob's correspondence in the north) he was particularly asked where the Nabob then was, with the view of forwarding him the presents.

It was only necessary to rectify the mistake and remove all appearance of negligence, just as if the first opportunity had presented itself only then, and this artifice succeeded. However I postponed the despatch of the deputation a little longer and corresponded first with the Governor of Calicut, as though concerned about the condition of the country and paths which our envoys had to take, to see whether something would occur meanwhile which might have some effect on this deputation.

So on the 23rd February 1775 I sent two envoys with the presents. They were provided with written instructions how to behave. The envoys were received by the Nabob with all courtesy.

The same envoys brought in return letters and presents, which were sent to Batavia by the ship "Princess of Orange" on the 12th May 1775. At the same time a detailed report was despatched and to this were added the written instructions, the report of the envoys, the letters, an account of the Nabob's aims with my opinion on the whole subject.

We had now so far succeeded that the coolness of the Nabob had disappeared, and I was in correspondence with him; but our real object, *viz.*. to conclude a treaty of friendship with him, was not attained. Besides this, we saw clearly that the Nabob's object was just what did not in the least suit the Company, *viz.*, the conclusion of an offensive and defensive treaty, of which he had even added a draft of nine articles to his letter to Batavia. But I was still hopeful (because I was still corresponding with him) to keep him in good humour, and induce him to make a treaty of friendship with us.

Unfortunately, however, the Princess of Orange had a very long voyage, so that when the ships arrived from Batavia the following monsoon they brought no reply. In order not to make him suspicious about the delay of the reply, I informed him in time that the vessel had had such a long voyage, and so the answer could certainly only arrive in the next good monsoon and I even tried to convince him that the death of His Excellency the Governor-General van der Parra, which had taken place meanwhile, might also have contributed to the delay, but it seems that this found no acceptance, at least he broke off the correspondence all of a sudden. Some time afterwards it came to my ears that he was angry with me and suspected that sanction had arrived from Batavia long ago to make with him such an offensive and defensive alliance as had been proposed by him, but that I had kept back the letter and presents, and meanwhile written strongly against it and had managed that another letter should arrive, and this had been the reason why he had to wait so long for an answer.

But judging by his subsequent conduct one may rightly conclude that even if he had received an answer that year he would not, for that reason, have refrained from doing what he has done now, and possibly he would have tried sooner to compel us by force to accept the engagement he had proposed, which attempt he seems to have put off that year in case an answer should happen to come *viâ* Ceylon or some other way.

However that may be, he undertook nothing against the Company during the first good monsoon, in which he had expected an answer from Batavia, but again asked the kings of Cochin and Cranganore for money through his governor of Calicut. This gave me work with the governor of Calicut, the king of Cranganore and the residents in the north throughout almost the whole of the good monsoon. At last I succeeded so far that he refrained from further requisitions of money, and left the question *in statu quo*. In the meantime he went and seized some lands belonging to the Mahrattas, who at that time were engaged in war with the English about the seizure of Salsette, of which opportunity he took advantage.

When the next good monsoon was approaching, he began to turn his arms this way and at last to throw off the mask. For when we were still in the bad monsoon or more particularly in the month of August, Kharder Khan, the Nabob's governor and general, began again and gradually with more pressure to make his claim on the kings of Cochin and Cranganore. The former was asked for a sum of Rs. 8 lakhs and the latter for Rs. 1 lakh, and to enforce his demands Kharder Khan had fallen with his troops on the northern part of Cochin, taking possession at once of the northern fort of Tritsjur [Trichur].

The king of Cochin meanwhile sent his envoys to the Nabob at Seringapatnam, but was at last compelled to authorize them to accept hard terms, namely to bind themselves to pay 4 lakhs of rupees and four elephants, and in future an annual tribute of one lakh and a fifth; whereunder the kinglet of Cranganore was included, *viz.*, to the extent of 1⅕th lakhs of rupees then and in future ⅕th lakhs of rupees annually; and as I could not prevent this last,[1] I had to shut my eyes to it.

Hereupon the Nabob's general marched back northwards with his men, and we flattered ourselves with the thought that peace would be restored by this agreement; but when the general was retiring, he started wrangles with us and desired by letter the accounts of the sandy land of Chettua, adding that if they were not produced he would devastate the country. At first we thought that this related to the sequestrated lands of the Zamorin, which I have mentioned above in the chapter dealing with the Zamorin. So we sent him a regular account which showed that the Zamorin was still in arrears with the Company, but the general, without waiting for an answer, meanwhile suddenly crossed with his troops the river of Chettua near Pulicarro, a little to the south of the fortress of Chettua, where crossing is easiest, on the 9th of October. He marched on to Chettua, took the Company's linguist and sworn clerk, who had been sent to him, prisoners, and demanded from the Chettua officials 20 years' revenue and the money of the Zamorin. We asked the general for an explanation and protested against the hostilities. But half the Nabob's people kept Chettua blockaded and shut in, and the other half marched to province Paponetty, burned, pillaged and plundered. Meanwhile the resident retreated with the Company's money to Cranganore, and the general took up his quarters in the residency. He then wrote and complained of not having received replies to his letters, adding that he had orders from his master to invade the territory of the Company, but at the same time declared that his master desired to live in friendship with the Company, and so desired free passage across the Company's territory and past Cochin in order to attack Travancore *and if not, friendship was out.*

I replied that his declaration of friendship was all very well, but that I found what had happened in the Company's territory very strange, and that I trusted he would put a stop to all hostilities and respect the Company's territory and not allow his troops within reach of our guns, and offered my mediation between the Nabob and Travancore. Before this reply could have reached him, the troops of the Nabob came before Cranganore on the 11th October and tried to surprise it. They got into a fight with our men, the garrison chased them from under our walls, and drove them back with bleeding heads. Kharder Khan thereupon wrote another letter and declared that he had taken possession of the "sandy land". We then realized that the whole of province Paponetty together with the whole region from Cranganore to Chettua was included in his demand. In addition to this he demanded 20 years' revenue from these lands and also the produce of another stretch of land 15 (Dutch) miles long, and lastly he actually demanded tribute from the Company, and denied that he had asked for a passage through the possessions of the Company to Travancore.

This entirely changed the aspect of affairs and the bounds of neutrality had thus been completely transgressed. Now we ourselves were attacked, and the question therefore was whether we were to take action with our own forces only, or with the assistance of Travancore and Cochin. The necessity of maintaining good relations with Travancore and our own circumstances made us decide to prevent

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[1] Cranganore had been a vassal of the Dutch Company since 1717; his acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Hyder involved their own loss of suzerainty.

the further penetration of the Nabob's troops with the help of Travancore and Cochin. The ministers of the two states offered their assistance, but their good will was greater than their power and courage, as was seen later on

As soon as possible we had the northern extremity of the Island of Baypin [Vypeen], called Aykotta, fortified, in order to prevent the enemy from crossing over to Baypin. Some Travancore troops also went to Aykotta and the troops of the Nabob made preparations to cross the river or over to Aykotta at the western corner, behind the fort of Cranganore; whereupon the Travancore troops were about to retire, but we sent one of our detachments by land and the battle-ship "Verwagting" by sea, and on their arrival at Aykotta, the troops of the Nabob retreated.

Hereupon I sent a deputation to the king of Travancore. The king duly promised to act against the enemy in concert with the Honourable Company and the king of Cochin, and had already sent word about the affair to Nabob Mahomet Aly and the English, who had also made him promises of help, that is, if he should be attacked. So the King of Travancore declared he was willing to help in checking with united forces the further advance of the enemy, but could not take the offensive against him, as he had not yet been provoked by the Nabob. We decided therefore for the present to abide by the plan of united defence until reinforcements should come from Ceylon; however I reported the hostilities which had taken place to the Nabob, in case he should yet think better of it and disapprove of the doings of his general.

In the beginning of the month of November we received reinforcements from Ceylon and we then proposed not only to prevent the enemy breaking through any further, but also, if possible, to drive him out of our territory, and so to avenge the insult offered to the Company; the more as the kings of Travancore and Cochin, especially the former, had made great promises to join us, since the said reinforcements had arrived.

But as the enemy had in the meanwhile entrenched himself behind paggers [stockades] and fortifications from Chettua to Cranganore and were lying in ambuscades, we thought it not then advisable to send our troops to the attack. For although we were in tolerable condition for defence, we were not in a position to take the field against an enemy trained for war, who had meanwhile entrenched himself everywhere and lay in ambuscades. So we first had the necessary preparations for such an expedition made.

But while we were busy with this, the resident in Chettua managed to send us word that he could not hold the fort any longer. The preservation of this fort was of the utmost importance for our plans, as being situated in the north of our territory just as the fort of Cranganore is situated in the south of it, so that the enemy had no way of retreat except by flight eastward over the river; for the sea lies to the west.

We resolved therefore first to relieve Chettua by sea, and this expedition was undertaken on the 11th November. Unfortunately, however, the expedition could not land immediately after arrival, as it had special instructions to do, but only the following day, so that the enemy had time to come up from Paponetty, and to entrench themselves in pits during the night. When our troops had landed, those of the Nabob appeared all at once from all sides like ants, cut off the retreat of and surrounded, and partly despatched and partly captured our detachment, among the captives being the commanding officer of the expedition, while a very few escaped to the fort of Chettua.

Two days after this miscarried expedition, when the enemy were doing their worst and already had the ladders against the walls, the surrender of the fort followed on condition that the garrison should be allowed to go out free to Cranganore[1]. But the general, contrary to his pledged word, took the whole garrison, besides the fugitives belonging to the detachment, prisoners, and had the remaining population with women, children and slaves taken to Calicut, but the soldiers to his head-quarters Seringapatnam, where most of them enlisted out of poverty and want in the Nabob's army. The commanding officer of the expedition, however, together with the commandant of Chettua and the resident absolutely refused to take service with him.

[1] Reports on this expedition will be found on pp. 219-236 of Ms. No. 1054. Chetway surrendered on the 15th of November 1776.

These fatal occurrences made us resolve to keep our forces together, to cover only Cranganore at first, to guard the island Baypin, and to entrench ourselves before Cranganore, until we should find opportunity to undertake something more.

Meanwhile when the entrenchment before Cranganore was ready, I made trial how far we could reckon on Travancore and Cochin, should it become necessary to undertake something substantial with them. So I gave notice to the ministers of Travancore and Cochin that we now proposed to march against the enemy, to drive them out of the Chettua territory and to recapture what had been taken from us, enquiring whether they were prepared to join us at once according to promise, and whether the coolies, who had been promised, were now ready. Then they threw off the mask, for they answered that their master's orders were that they were to do nothing more than they had been doing so far, viz., to assist in checking the enemy's further enterprises, and no more; they added anxiously that if we should fail but once the Nabob would then come with all his forces and destroy the whole of Malabar; so their offers and boasted readiness were nothing but big talk. I declared that if they would not join us, our force must march alone. Meanwhile the Travancore Agent, Ananda Mallen, came to me with a further message from the Rajadore of Travancore to the effect that he had just been summoned by his master and told to inform me on His Highness's behalf that he had heard the Company was on the point of marching against the enemy and he besought me not to do so for the present on any account until His Highness had spoken to me with his own lips. His Highness was about to visit me in person on purpose to discuss the then state of affairs as also some other matters of importance.

Immediately after the ship "Groenendaal" arrived here on the 9th January 1777, bringing the reply and presents for the Nabob, of which I at once informed him.

Meanwhile there ran a rumour here, that the Nabob, on second thoughts, wished he had never begun hostilities with the Company, because there was now less hope than there would have been otherwise of surprising Travancore; and that is the reason I so worded my letters to the Nabob as though I supposed that his general had exceeded his authority.

Meanwhile the King of Travancore at last let me know that it was quite impossible for him to come on account of a severe illness of his mother,[1] and also that he had since discovered a mean trick of his Prime Minister, on account of which he could not leave his court. This latter incident has been related by me in my special letter to Batavia, dated the 28th August 1777. Later on however it appeared that he had tried to avoid the personal interview with me and would not have been pleased to see the Company marching against the enemy, for fear that if we were beaten, it should have been his turn next. This proves that he was fully aware that his safety depended on ours.

We resolved therefore on the 5th March 1777 not to undertake anything for the time being, but to wait until we knew the result of the communication to the Nabob that a letter with presents from Batavia had arrived for him.

This had the effect that on the 25th February the commander of the expedition to Chettua with the Chettua resident arrived here. A short time after, the commandant of Chettua also came. They told me that our soldiers, who had been taken prisoners, had taken service with the Nabob out of poverty and want, but that on the other hand the other persons with women, children and slaves, who had till then been prisoners, had also obtained leave to come here; and they have really come back since. I was also told that both the officer and the resident had been charged by the Nabob in person to tell me that he wished to continue to live in peace and friendship with the Company, in the hope that the Company had the same intention and that I should understand his good intentions from the letter he was writing to me. They added that they had each received a native cloth, besides 100 rupees betel and travelling money, and that the Nabob had asked them many searching questions. He did afterwards in fact make further offer of his friendship in two different letters, so that we were obliged to suppose that he was really inclined to make it up with the Company. We further decided therefore in the said resolution to make proof of his

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[1] The Raja of Travancore's mother, the "Queen of Attinga" died on the 9th of June 1782 and the Anjengo garrison fired 86 guns on the 13th in honour of her memory, she having lived that number of years (Anjengo Diary).

friendship and to see whether he really sought our friendship and desired a reconciliation, by forwarding him their Right Worshipfuls' letter and presents and asking him whether he would depute two persons here for the examination and settlement of his pretended claims (of which persons he had made mention in the two above-mentioned letters) or would prefer to receive two commissioners from us. We further decided to answer the two above-mentioned letters in a friendly manner and to the point. All this can be found in the secret resolution, dated 5th March 1777, in detail. We flattered ourselves at the time with the hope that matters would then take a good turn, the more so as the rumours were corroborated that the Nabob had his hands full with the Mahrattas.

But far from it; although he read the letter, he has not to this day deigned to answer the letter from Batavia, still less the one I sent. It seems that he thinks the question is settled by simply assuring us of his friendship and keeping his conquests, without undertaking anything more, since then, against us.

How the English, whose interest also it indeed is not to let this Nabob become too powerful, looked on at the conduct of the Nabob with arms crossed when these disorders began, and laughed in their sleeves, nay, even tried to fish in troubled waters, may be seen in my special despatch to Batavia, dated the 2nd January 1777; and further what the condition is of the invaded territory, what our rights are both to the same and to the lands of the Zamorin within it which have been seized, as also whether the fort of Chettua is really necessary to us or not, may likewise be seen in detail in the said resolution of the 5th March and in two separate secret letters, dated the 7th March following, from here to Batavia.

The good monsoon was now ended. While a good number of the Nabob's troops had been called to the north, and Chettua had been very well supplied and fortified by the Nabob, the Zamorin Nairs began to show themselves outside the woods and mountains and to disturb the country so that the Nabob's troops had to be continually on their guard to drive them away. Meanwhile the territory of the Zamorin was miserably plundered and ruined and even the merchants, from whom Calicut gets most of its revenue, were robbed and oppressed in such a way that it almost seemed as if the Nabob intended to devastate that kingdom utterly and drain the last drop out of it.

A certain chief of the Moorish faction in the Zamorin's territory named Ayderos Cutty (who since the conquest of the Zamorin kingdom had remained loyal to the Nabob, and had not only been left in his former position but had also been placed over the district of Chavacatty on condition of paying annually a certain sum of money, which was so great, that he was unable to raise it and notwithstanding was forced to it), also got tired of this violence, left the Nabob's side and openly joined the Zamorin's Nairs with all his followers to help them to annoy the Nabob's men and if possible drive them away and reinstate the Zamorin. But seeing himself not sufficiently safe, he sent his family to the south, and immediately after himself retired south to Travancore territory; at which the king winked.

The Zamorin's Nairs, however gallantly they resisted, could not weather the storm and had retired again to the woods and mountains, but with the end of monsoon (season) things began to change for the better. The Nabob's forces were still in the north, where they began to get their hands fuller and fuller. The Zamorin's Nairs again took courage, and plundered the country right up to Calicut. Desertion among the troops of the Nabob, who were still here in the neighbourhood, also became more common. The inhabitants of the invaded territory were looking out for us every day, and promised to help us with transport. We had also met to a great extent the difficulty of obtaining coolies by organising draft and pack bullock-trains. Everything, further, seemed favourable for an attempt to drive the enemy out of our possessions and to recapture the fort of Chettua. The expedition was so arranged that, if we could not get the fort of Chettua, things should be as before the expedition, that is in a good state of defence at Cranganore and Ayeotta.

The expedition then was undertaken from Cranganore on the 8th January 1778. Our force at the outset drove out the enemy who lay posted in the palace of the king of Cranganore, about 400 strong. They fled hastily to the north. Our force proceeded on its way and arrived that same day at Paponetty, where also no enemy was to be

found. The following morning the march was continued to Ballapattu, whence the force set out again on the third day for Chettua and arrived at 6 o'clock in the evening. The fort was at once closely invested. It was then heavily cannonaded and bombarded day and night, but the garrison held out so obstinately that the troops of the Nabob had time to come up with strong reinforcements. This and a failure of the attempt to storm which our men thereupon undertook, besides the various dangers which threatened of our force being attacked in the rear and standing to be cut off, compelled us to raise the siege, after our men had lain seven days before the fort, and used all possible means of attack against it. The report of this siege may be read in greater detail in a secret despatch written to Batavia, dated 26th February of the same year, and in the report of the commandant, Wohlfarth [1].

Our troops, having left behind some guns, reached the camp of Cranganore again in good order on the 19th January. They arranged themselves again in a position of defence, as before the expedition, and moved their advanced guard even further to the palace of the king of Cranganore, three quarters of an hour to the north of the fort of Cranganore.

We saw now that the Nabob, notwithstanding his heavy work with the Mahrattas, had made such dispositions with regard to the territory he had conquered that he could at once collect reinforcements and as soon as we came to the north of Cranganore, could always fall on our rear across the river.

We had (as I have said) occupied the palace of the king of Cranganore, which offended the eyes of the enemy. The 3rd March of the same year in the morning at break of day they attacked and invested it with about 3,000 infantry, 150 cavalry and some artillery men with four cannon. Our force had orders to retreat to the entrenchments if overpowered. The Commandant first sent them the inner picquet and later the outer to cover their retreat; so by ten o'clock our men had already arrived back, fighting their way, before the camp at Cranganore. In this affair we had only six killed and some wounded while the enemy left a great many on the ground and also removed many wounded.

Shortly after this incident the Prime Minister of the king of Travancore arrived. In the course of a very circumstantial conversation with him about the then state of affairs and finally the expenses of the war, which the Company had then to bear, I pointed out to him that on the preservation of Cranganore and Aykotta depended his master's safety or ruin; that his master ought to meet us in the expenditure, for otherwise we could not any longer maintain such a force; that without this his master would be exposed to the greatest danger of losing everything, but that we in any case could rely on our town; that, even if we were entirely unable or unwilling to remain, we should lose only a *part* of our possessions as we have so much else in India, but that His Highness had but a single kingdom; and other arguments besides. However, my arguments were addressed to deaf ears and I thought it best not to insist any further, but only to press for richer pepper deliveries. All this is described circumstantially with the replies and remarks of this experienced minister in my special letter to Batavia, dated 24th April 1778 [2].

Meanwhile the Zamorin's Nairs continued their pillaging parties, which at last annoyed the Nabob to such an extent that he bethought him of a ruse to capture the king, the princes and their families and to massacre them with the view of effecting the complete subjugation of the kingdom and bringing the rebellious Nairs to a stand.

He authorised the king of Collastry to negotiate on his behalf with the Zamorin's people regarding the reinstatement of the Zamorin on condition of paying a fixed moderate tribute and that with some terms that made it the easier. The king of Collastry, who sometime before had already really been reinstated in this manner in his kingdom, came to Calicut and did all that was possible by means of letters and messages to make this proposal palatable to the Zamorin princes. He had succeeded so far that not only was the place for the conference decided upon, but also that the Zamorin princes had already come there. Meanwhile the intention of the Nabob's

[1] The letter to Batavia of the 26th of February 1778 will be found on pp. 267–310 of MS. No. 1054, the Report of the commander of the expedition on pp. 387–416. The assault on the fort was made on the 15th of January 1778, at a cost of 19 killed and 85 wounded.

[2] Pages 311–366 of MS. No. 1054.

governor was to surround them and to carry them off. But the Zamorin princes, who had taken as many people with them as they were able for prudence sake, smelt danger in time and were fortunate enough, but not without great danger to themselves, to force their way through the troops and reach their places of retreat in safety. One of the princes however was so unfortunate as to receive a severe wound in his left thigh, and this attempt was looked upon by every one in Malabar with contempt and as one of the meanest of dirty tricks.

The Nairs of Cotteatte (Kottayam) also were now stirred. Their expelled king appeared again, and having united with the Zamorin's people, they did all that was possible to drive out the troops of the Nabob, and to disturb the country. But for all their efforts, they could not get their boat round the corner. For in the meanwhile the Nabob's general Kharder Khan (the same who started hostilities against us, and had since been recalled by the Nabob), came down with a force of five to six thousand men, and fought his way though with heavy losses to Calicut, and so saved the country from the violence of the Nairs, who then retired again to the woods.

Next it is well-known how the Nabob only recently fell eastwards through the mountains with a considerable army so unexpectedly on the English and Nabob Mahomet Aly, in the Carnatic and Madura country, that he was there before the English knew of it, how *en passant* he plundered the Company's "lodge" Porto Novo, took both our resident and the Danish resident prisoners, and did brilliant execution among the English troops and after this took the strong capital of the Carnatic, Arkat (Arcot), and besieged the not less strong town called Velur (Vellore); in a word how he so horribly devastated both the Carnatic and Madura country and carried fear and panic everywhere, even to Negapatam and Tuticorin, and still holds them in alarm that your Worship being then in charge of the Company's possessions on the coast of Madura, was forced to ask for troops from Ceylon in case of further penetration or sudden onslaught. It is not less well-known what gifts of statesmanship he exhibits in bringing the inhabitants of those parts under his yoke, while here in the neighbourhood he has for some time been holding the English fortress of Tellicherry beset and besieged with such obstinacy, that if this fort had not recently received strong reinforcements from Bombay, it would already have fallen into the hands of the Nabob, as is acknowledged by the English themselves[1]. For they were already beginning to suffer want of everything and the supply of provisions by sea had been cut off by the vessels of the Nabob, which although a great part of his fleet was recently destroyed by the English, still make the provisioning of Tellicherry very difficult, so that the English are absolutely compelled to guard the coast here continually with war-ships.

All this, however, has not been of any benefit to us hitherto, for the Nabob's force around here has not yet diminished and Chettua, Chavacatty and Calicut are occupied in the same way as before.

Meanwhile, I have tried in all imaginable ways in turn to get him to make things up with the Company, but it seems that he will not hear of it, and that his whole behaviour towards us is based on cunning, treachery and falsehood.

The more I consider the affair the more it appears to me that the Nabob takes up the position that the matter was settled with the assurance he gave us of his friendship, and his retention of that which he has taken from us, *viz.*, except Fort Chettua what the Zamorin had till the year 1717, and constantly contested with us even to the time of Commandeur DeJong in 1758; and that, hoping that we shall gradually become careless or reduce our forces little by little, he is meanwhile on the look-out for an opportunity to attack us unexpectedly, as soon as his affairs will permit of it, and see if he cannot break through suddenly or get us to take sides with him. For it looks as if he were really determined to force the Company to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him; which, looking back, becomes more and more apparent from all circumstances. In fact when his advance was checked here

[1] The history of this siege may be studied in the Tellicherry Diary for 1780, of which there are MS. copies at Madras and at the India office. Hyder's men first appeared before Tellicherry on the 18th of July 1780. On the 1st of November, news having arrived of Bailley's defeat, the evacuation of the place was considered. Two letters from Moens, dated 5th and 23rd December, which show that he furnished Tellicherry with provisions, are transcribed in the Diary.

and he realized that it was not so easy to break through further, he always made show with the sending off of officers and releasing prisoners, of wanting to come to terms with us, and even declared at that time, that he would have no war with the Company. He did this undoubtedly only with the hope of winning us over some time or another, or that a favourable answer had arrived from Batavia. When I informed him that a letter and presents had arrived, I clearly saw his desire for them. He requested me to despatch the letter at once, and inform him what instructions I had received, without making mention at all of the presents or anything else. But the contents of the letter were in accordance with the policy of the Company and not at all as he would have wished. So the correspondence was arrested at a stroke and although I returned in the most flattering terms his declarations of friendship, he has treated with contempt all the approaches which I have since made covertly in every variety of suitable manner.

Things are still in the same state, *viz.*, the Nabob holds possession of the territory between Cranganore and Chettua, which is again being gradually occupied by the inhabitants; the Fort of Chettua he keeps well garrisoned, and as this fort lies twelve hours distant from Cranganore, it is hardly possible to take it from him without a considerable force; for experience has taught us that the enemy can always cut us off there. We must therefore be content for the present with being on our guard at Cranganore and Aycotta, and taking care that the enemy does not take us by surprise there, nor break through. We should, for these purposes, keep our vessels a little to the north of this roadstead, during the good monsoon (season) near or at the back of Aycotta, in order to prevent the enemy getting across there by sea. Meanwhile Travancore must be on the watch in his own lines. It is however necessary to make sure every now and then whether every place there is occupied and provided for, with the view of being able to warn Travancore, if something is wanting here and there.

Concerning Hyder's personal qualities I have received information from several deserters, who have served under him and been on duty at his court and darbar, as also from others, French and of other nationalities, who have occasionally been at his head-quarters, have spoken with him and have had opportunities of hearing many particulars regarding him. But the best information I have received was from his body-physician, a French Doctor, who was daily with him for twelve full years, toured with him and at last out of antipathy and dissatisfaction on account of his difficult character quitted his service in the year 1778. He remained here some weeks, though since then, being desired through the then French Governor of Pondicherry, M. Bellecombe, at the instance of Hyder Alyckan, to serve the Nabob again, he has gone back to him. From this Frenchman I obtained the following particulars about him.

The Nabob is about 70 years old. His height is $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet, he is well built and his colour is near brown. He has a majestic appearance and piercing eyes. He can survey the condition of his army at a glance, discover its deficiencies and rectify them at once. Eyebrows he has none, for he has them at once pulled out. He is very fond of the sex and has a numerous seraglio. He is also a lover of drink, and even strong drink, which however is much despised in a Moor and Muhammadan and exceptional, and therefore he enjoys his drink on the sly and mostly in the evenings or late in the night; so that it is matter of wonder that though he is very devoted to both Venus and Bacchus, he is still so strong and has not long since shortened his life or weakened himself. He does not know how to read or write, but listens at one and the same time to the reports of his spies, and to the reading of the letters that arrive, and at once passes orders as to how the latter have to be answered, and at the same time gives his instructions about whatever regards his extensive territories, and all this with such rapidity and precision that nothing escapes his eyes, hearing and attention. He is despotic in the highest degree, and sometimes has a person executed at once in his presence for the smallest mistake or for displeasing him on a single occasion. He is extremely avaricious, and employed indescribably horrible means of coercion to appropriate the treasures of his subjects after he had conquered the kingdoms of Mysore, Canara, etc. It is true he allows his people to make money, but he gets the benefit of it; for he gives his people certain posts, keeps them there for some years, does not prevent them gathering and garnering in the service, and

when he thinks they have made money enough he has them relieved, and insists upon their telling him where they have put the money they have made or else has them flogged to death without mercy.

In this way, he is complete master not only of the revenues of his states, which bring him in untold sums every year, but also of the income of all his subjects without distinction. For if he observes that one of his subjects possesses something, no matter how secret it is kept, he manages to get on the track by means of his spies, of whom he keeps a number for the chase. They must then present it to him or else are forced to do so in the most cruel manner. It is for these reasons that he does not possess the good-will of his subjects and servants, but that all, driven by the greatest fear, render him the most servile obeisance and homage. The least deficiency on their part in this has fatal consequences. This tyrannical and cruel way of acting grew on him more and more, the more successful he was in his conquests, for he had not been so tyrannical and cruel before.

Although he has in his service Europeans of different nations, he shows little consideration for them. He pays them, but not too much. All his soldiers, both European and native, have to buy everything they want for themselves from his sutlers and other pedlars according to rates fixed by him. These sutlers and pedlars are bound to give a strict account monthly to his officials, and to pay for the goods sold. Hence the greater part of the stipends paid out to his soldiers came back to his chest, and the Europeans keep little or nothing over for themselves. Those who imagine they will make their fortune with the Nabob and to that end take service with or desert to him, are sorely deceived, without daring to allow their chagrin to appear in the least degree ; for as soon as this is observed by their guards, they are conducted inland and are so well watched that escape is a sheer impossibility. When they are caught after having deserted, the punishment is certain death. The situation too of his different states is such that one cannot get out of them without the greatest danger and exposure to many risks.

Besides infantry he has also numerous guns, which he has bought in course of time from European nations. He keeps his artillery in a good condition, and it is very well served by the European gunners in his service.

He is as well aware as any one that money is the sinews of war, and that therewith be can attain all his aims. For if he sees that he cannot gain his object by force of arms, he tries to buy peace with money, in which he has succeeded more than once. He is then at once on the look-out to make good his losses at the expense of others. He has still another and almost infallible means of winning battles. As soon as he observes that the enemy is too strong for him, he at once tries by means of his spies to sound the commanders or most distinguished officers of the enemy and to offer them considerable, or, one may well say, incredible sums of money. If he succeeds he his almost sure of the victory, for not every one has strength to resist the force of money. It is rumoured that in this way he has gained four pitched battles.

Moreover he is a ruler, who respects no one, not even those who have been good to him. The French, who indeed have done him many a good turn, and assisted him with ammunition when he was engaged in war with the English, have never obtained anything useful or advantageous from him ; on the contrary they have had to submit to insult, first at Calicut when the Zamorin transferred his kingdom to the French and later on even at Mahé, where he not only seized the territory of a certain Cunje Nair, who had long been under the protection of the French, but also demanded from the French because they opposed this, one lakh of rupees, which they have in fact had to pay to the full although they had besides to abandon the said Cunje Nair to his violence. In spite of all this, they continued to seek his friendship in order in course of time to do harm to the English through him. I remember still how a certain French Lieutenant-Colonel, who was sent as an envoy to him to settle the case of Cunje Nair, stayed here a few days on his way back to Pondicherry. When he related the case to me he was nearly bursting with rage, because he had not been able to bring the fine down to less than one lakh of rupees. He added these words in substance : *what can we do, we cannot embroil ourselves with him on account of our policy.* But how

little he has been of use to them and how he has left them in the lurch, when they needed him most, has been seen. I have it on good authority that when Pondicherry was besieged the last time by the English and they had sent him an embassy to ask for help, he dismissed the envoys mockingly with these words : *write to your king first to send a fleet of war-ships and some regiments of soldiers, and then I will assist your king to re-establish himself and gain the predominance in India*—and when Pondicherry had fallen he laughingly asked the French officers, who were in his service,—*whether the French were mad to surrender Pondicherry for the second time to the English.* Still another example. The Governor of Mahé asked the Nabob to send back the 160 French soldiers, who had been sent to him the previous year from Mahé, and at the same time asked for assistance in case Mahé should be attacked. With regard to the aforesaid Europeans, he replied, — *that he had demanded these the previous year, in order to make use of them himself, and so had no intention of sending them back*; only as Mahé was situated in the kingdom of Collastry, and Collastry was tributary to him,—*he would charge the king of Collastry to assist Mahé.* This king then sent 200 Nairs and 1,000 native Moors, who fled on the approach of the English without making the least resistance. I am sure that if we made common cause with him, he would not treat us much better, and far from allowing himself to be made a tool of to further the interests of others [1] (like Mahomed Aly) he would not allow himself to be made to do anything except what would be in his own and not to our interests.

The Portuguese at Goa have also been much out in their calculations about him, and received insults from him ; for when he had conquered the kingdom of Canara, and the Mahrattas for this reason waged war against him—since Canara had been tributary to them—the Portuguese in fact secretly gave him much assistance, and yet they have discovered by experience that he was a worse neighbour to them than are the Mahrattas. For no sooner was he master of the Canara and Sunda kingdom, than he extended his territory to the north of Goa, where he did not even spare the chiefs, who were under the protection of the Portuguese, but made them also bow beneath his yoke, which the Portuguese had to acquiesce in. They had even to surrender a stretch of land to the north of Goa, of which they were in possession, because the Nabob pretended that it belonged to the kingdoms which he had conquered, much in the same way as he laid claim to our territory, on the ground that it had formerly belonged to the Zamorin. Notwithstanding all this compliance, they are still annoyed by him and injured in their privileges. The Portuguese had formerly in Canara the privilege of receiving annually some lasts (tons) of rice gratis, by way of acknowledgment of their authority or tribute. But when the Nabob had conquered Canara, he first promised not to make any change in this, but they have profited very little by that promise. In the beginning he gave them something, but when he got his hands free, he flatly refused to give anything. In the month of March 1777 the Portuguese sent some vessels from Goa to Mangalore to buy rice, as they were accustomed to do twice a year. But he not only prevented these vessels loading and removing rice but even confiscated them. The Portuguese resident at Mangalore was at the same time arrested and the Portuguese flag in front of the residency torn to pieces. According to the story of people who passed through here from that place all this happened because the Portuguese had not allowed him to pass within range of the guns of their fortresses when he last marched against the territory of Morarow [Morari Rao, of Gooty, a Mahratta chief) to conquer it.

He does not respect even the English, although they are most feared in India. They found this out at Tellicherry, when he first marched against the Zamorin. For, as has been mentioned before, when they wanted to interfere in his affairs there, they were driven away leaving behind the guns and mortars they had brought with them.[2] It is also known how very glad they were when he was at war with them to have made peace with him, and got rid of him. He expresses himself very haughtily in his last letter written to Batavia about the wars he had waged with the English and Mahrattas :—" Fame will undoubtedly have brought to your notice the "happy manner in which Providence has permitted me to bring the wars, which

[1] *I.e.*, of the English at Madras, whose pageant Mahomet Ali of the Carnatic was.
[2] In 1766—see page 153 above.

"I have been compelled to wage against the English and Mahrattas, to an end; and "how on many occasions I have made them feel the force of my arms by the "victories gained over them and have compelled them to sue for peace." How deeply the English are now involved with him, and how much work it will give them to stand against him, time will shortly teach us.

In fine he respects no one and is not a ruler to unite oneself to, or to undertake anything with. The only thing one can reckon on is that he is an usurper and upstart, on whose stability one cannot count at the most except so long as he lives; that he is already advanced in years, that he weakens himself very much by his way of living, and that after his death a complete revolution of affairs is to be expected; unless indeed the English, who are now embroiled with him, could come to an agreement with the Mahrattas to attack him jointly with their ally Nabob Mahomed Aly, and if not altogether root him out, at least make him so small that he would be unable to play the same part as he has done to the present time.

Now I must also say a word about the Angria Pirates.

CHAPTER VII.

ANGRIA AND MAHRATTA PIRATES : THE SULTAN OF THE MALDIVES.

I.—The Angria Pirates.

The Angria pirates continually for half a century made the sea round about here unsafe by their piracies. They took many ships and smaller vessels belonging to European and Native merchants to their robbers' den Geria—known to us by the name of Bieseruk [Viziadrug] and in the Company's charts called Carapatnam—and destroyed them. The Honourable Company too was made to smart by them. For in the year 1738 they attacked off Onore [Honavar] the Company's ship "Noordwolfsbergen" with the yachts "Zeelands Welvaren" and "Magdalena". The two last named fell into their hands after a stubborn fight of three days, whilst the "Noordwolfsbergen" returned to our roadstead here from her intended voyage totally disabled.

Their Right Worshipfuls thereupon equipped a squadron from Batavia, under command of Major Siersma, to make reprisals or to compel the pirate to make compensation and to conclude a treaty with the Honourable Company. What became of this expedition may be gathered from an ordinary letter, dated 30th April 1739, from here to Batavia.[1]

In the year 1746 they took an English vessel, within sight of Cochin and in the year 1749 they appeared again within sight of this town with a fleet of 7 gurabs and 6 galvets[2]. At different times they have effected landings in the north and pillaged Onore and Mangalore.

In the year 1754 they attacked the Company's ships, bound for Surat, "Wemmenum" and "Vreede" and the barque "Jaccatra". Both ships took fire and were blown up. The barque was captured and the crew taken prisoners.

At last in the year 1756 the united fleets of the English and Mahrattas extirpated them entirely, whereupon the Mahrattas took possession of Geria and the surrounding district in the year 1757, as the place was left to them by the English. Since that time nothing has been heard of the Angria pirates but much of the Mahrattas.

II.—The Mahrattas.

The Mahrattas are a nation, who in former times pillaged the country far and wide, from Surat to Bengal. Since they got possession of Geria, they show themselves here in place of the Angrians and similarly practise piracy, while formerly they went to sea to some extent only to the north and near Surat, where their territory lies.

In the year 1762 they attacked the ship "Getrouwigheid" bound to Surat, which fled towards Goa defending itself, but got on to a rock in the night alongside Goa castle, where she was fearfully bombarded by the enemy, but at last left alone, and so escaped, but unfortunately came to grief on the rocks.

In the year 1766 they attacked off Cannanore for two days running a valiant, well-manned Portuguese frigate, but had to leave it with loss.

Then they came to the Cannanore roadstead and the admiral sent a person to our chief with a compliment about his good will, and the further remark that he would soon come ashore at an early date in person to visit him and see whether a treaty of peace and friendship could not be made between the Honourable Company and his king. The aforesaid admiral really came ashore after a few days, and promised the chief that for two months and a half no harm would be done by him and his to the ships and vessels of the Company and that he would induce his king

[1] It unsuccessfully attacked Gheria. Colonel Briddulph's pirates of Malabar (1907) may be consulted for further information about the pirates.

[2] *Grabs* are two-masted vessels and *gallivats* large row-boats—see note on page 69.

to make a formal treaty with the Honourable Company. On that occasion three native vessels, which were taken by him, were restored to their owners at Cannanore, without anything having been taken out of them.

In the year 1768 they captured off Calicut the Company's sloop "Mosselschulp" from Colombo bound for Surat, and in the Calicut roadstead three Moorish vessels and one bombara [swift-sailing one-masted native vessel].

In the year 1770 they came into the outer roadstead of Cochin with a fleet of some 30 sail. They were asked the reason of their arrival, and the admiral's reply was that he had come as a friend to make a treaty with the Honourable Company; thereupon he was asked to come ashore, but he insisted upon a written safe-conduct, which was also sent to him, but after all he did not come ashore. After he had kept the river as if blockaded for 18 days, he departed again with his fleet to the North.

It was in the year 1772 that they captured off Montedelly a Portuguese and a Macao ship. Thereupon the Portuguese at Goa equipped one of their biggest frigates and two well-armed vessels to recapture the lost ship, but this armament was beaten and taken by the Mahrattas off Angediva.

The Portuguese again sent a frigate and some armed vessels against them, which recaptured the taken vessels with the exception of the frigate, which the Mahrattas had already removed to their den at Geria.

In the year 1775 they stubbornly fought for two days at a latitude of 18 degrees and 29 minutes the Company's ship "De Vrouwe Geertruijda" coming from Surat, but owing to her valiant resistance had eventually to leave her alone. Since then they have done nothing of importance at sea.

They give an appearance of right to their piracy by pretending to command the sea along this side of the Peninsula, or to speak more precisely by pretending that all those who wish to pass there must come to an agreement with them about it or take passes from them for a certain payment; in default they seize the vessels, if they can, as being forfeited. This privilege is sold by them to those adventurers and dare-devils, who offer most for it. These people then buy or hire and maintain at their own expense ships and vessels, ammunition, crews and whatever else is necessary to a pirate fleet. They must make good their expenses out of the vessels and booty, which they take. The Mahrattas themselves keep some of their officials on such a fleet, in order to give the fleet more dignity and authority. Among these officials is also the head of the whole fleet. The bid for this privilege has not yet been higher than one lakh of rupees, and it is astonishing that so much is given, because most of the booty they make consists only of native wares. It is true most of the *bombaras* and other native vessels, which have to pass Geria, take passes from them at a high price, but one thing and another cannot amount to so much that after deducting the expenses much can be left; for first-class prizes seldom fall into their hands.

I mention the Mahrattas not only because they have made the coast unsafe since they got possession of the Angrian den at Geria but also because it seems to me not improbable that this nation may sooner or later extend its influence effectively over Malabar, especially if they should get the better of Nabob Hyder Alyckan, or (which seems to be their object) restore the kingdoms of Mysore, Canara, Sunda and what else is now under the Nabob, but was formerly tributary to the Mahrattas. For in that case the kingdoms of Collastry and Zamorin would also certainly be restored, and then the Mahrattas would undoubtedly exact an annual tribute from these princes also in return for the opportunity provided by them for the restoration. The king of Cochin would also perhaps be called upon to pay tribute so far as regards his northern territory. In this way it is possible that the Mahrattas would become more or less our neighbours. It is well known that they are as rough and unpleasant customers as any native nation can be. The arrival of a certain Mahratta envoy, who once brought letters of encouragement for the Kings of Cochin and Travancore, seems to be a first step in that direction. At least I looked upon it as such, as may be seen more clearly from my special letter to Batavia, dated 5th May 1777. Travancore however was later on of opinion that he was no envoy of the Mahrattas, but

on the contrary from Nabob Hyder Alyckan, pretending to be sent by the Mahrattas, in order to find out how the Kings of Cochin and Travancore would take such encouragement from the Mahrattas.

They are a heathen nation, which has much respect for its Brahmins or clergy.

Their kingdoms consist of several principalities, large and small, the smaller being tributary to the larger. And this is undoubtedly the origin of the expressions big and small Mahrattas.

Besides, they are a nation whose number is legion. They serve mostly on horse-back, but also to some extent on foot. The capital of the big Mahrattas is Poona situated to the east of Bombay 7 or 8 days' journey from there.

III.—The Maldive Sultan.

Finally I must say also something of the Maldive Sultan.

Although we have nothing to do with him here and although the purchase of cowries was forbidden by letter from Batavia, dated 18th September 1750, ordering us to send on Maldive vessels with their cowries to Ceylon, yet there still arrive here annually vessels with cowries, coir, *caret* and a kind of dried fish, called *combelmas*, which they sell to private people. Their return freight is rice, cotton, *catju*, *catjang*, angelicawood and Chinese *bæyangs*.[1] Not a year passes, but the Sultan writes a letter to us in order only to recommend to us his vessels which may arrive here. This letter is brought here by a person who is styled an ambassador. He is received with very little ceremony. When he has sent word and has had an answer as to when he may have an audience, an official is sent to him with an umbrella and to honour him, or rather the letter, an escort is sent from the body-guard consisting of a corporal and six men, who conduct him as far as the audience hall. No sooner is the letter handed over, than they retire. He is then allowed to sit down for a moment. Since the year 1754, when Ady Raja made that well-known attack on the Maldives, the first enquiry is usually about Ady Raja, and after a short indifferent conversation, the whole audience is over. When he returns to the Maldives he is given a little complimentary letter to take with him, which is handed over to him by the sabandar [native customs officer] without further ceremony.

Occasionally I have sounded these envoys about the cowries, and why they did not carry more of them to Ceylon, but I think they get too little for the cowries and so take them in their own vessels to Bengal, and from there take rice in return. Some time ago they sold many cowries to the French, who on this account sent many vessels lately to the Maldives. Although now, as I remarked before, we have little to do with them, yet I think it not only expedient, but even necessary to maintain our friendship with this prince and to give a helping hand to his vessels, when they come here, with services that cost us no money, since they can be of service to us again, when our ships or vessels may be driven to the Maldives, as has happened before, on which occasions our vessels have received such assistance as it was possible to give them there.

In the month of October 1776, when Nabob Hyder Alyckan attached our possessions here and the good monsoon had not yet begun, a trader from the Maldives happened to be lying here in the river (backwater), whilst the surf was still heavy against the bar at the mouth of the river. No sooner did I propose to him that he should take a letter for the Company to Colombo, than he agreed to do so without thinking twice about it, put to sea and took the letter in a few days to Colombo. So we received reinforcements from Ceylon soon, and through this willingness a great service was in fact rendered to the Company.

I have hitherto dealt with the princes and notables of this country, as also with persons who although not directly belonging to Malabar, have some connection with this coast. I shall now proceed to deal with the inhabitants of the country.

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[1] *Caret* (testudo imbricata) is a small sea-tortoise; here used of the shell; *cf.* an entry in MS. No. 74 "Schildpads-hoorn (Zie Caret)", "Tortoise-shell (see Caret)." *Combelmas* is Maldive kalu-bili-más black bonito-fish (Hobson-Jobson); the dried fish is still a common article of export from the Maldives. *Catju* is the cashew-nut; *catjang* is the generic Malay word for the kinds of pulses Anglo-Indians call "grams"; *Angelica*, Malayalam *anjali*, is the wild jack, the wood of which is used for ship-building, etc.; *bæyang* I have not come across elsewhere except in chapter XIII below. It may be Malay *buyong*, earthenware (Dutch *æ* is pronounced *u*), as suggested by a correspondent in *Notes and Queries*. *Bælang*, commonly mentioned in these *MSS.*, is a cheap cloth.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

The inhabitants of this coast consist of natives of the country and of foreigners. The native inhabitants are called Malabaris and are again divided into heathens and Christians.

The heathen inhabitants of Malabar by themselves are again divided into many clans or castes, of which I have added a special description in appendix No. 3, so far as I have been instructed in the matter by learned natives, and I refer you to that.[1]

In general I must note about the Malabaris that they have the characteristics of all other Indian races, viz., they are distrustful, cunning and much attached to their old customs, with which they cannot be made to break even if their own welfare should suffer.

In particular they are lazy, unashamed, untrue to their word and mendacious in the highest degree, which one must always remember, when one has anything to transact with them.

The Christian Malabaris are again divided into two sorts, viz., old and new Christians.

I.—Syrian Christians.

The old Christians are unanimously supposed to be the survivors of the so-called St. Thomas' Christians who are usually called Syrian Christians here.

I have thought it worth while to trace the history of these Christians as far as possible from the very beginning to the present day, at least so far as could be made out from their records and old traditions. It is clear from them that though they may not really be traceable back to the Apostle St. Thomas, they have not only been here a very long time and differ widely from the Roman Christians, but also that, notwithstanding all the endeavours made by the Roman priests, up till now the majority have not been willing to embrace the Roman religion.[2]

According to the general opinion, these Christians (St. Thomas' Christians) are named after the Apostle Thomas, who is supposed to have preached the Gospel here and in many other countries. This is in accordance with the traditions of the old Christians both of Coromandel and Malabar. The places are even mentioned, where he is supposed to have been, and to have propagated the Christian religion.

It must be acknowledged that the Syrian Christians, both in Coromandel and in Malabar, have traditions and possess monuments of a certain Thomas, who made the Christian religion known in these territories; but it must at the same time be admitted that, apart from the above-mentioned traditions, it has nowhere been clearly proved that this Thomas was really the Apostle Thomas.

Nevertheless it is thought to be beyond doubt, since all the old traditions and annals of the Malabar declare it with one voice, that the Apostle Thomas arrived in the year 52 after the birth of Christ at Mylapore, a town on the coast of Coromandel,

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[1] This caste appendix is unfortunately missing; removed perhaps by some curious person. Moens' Memoir is made up of loose sheets and it was easy to remove portions.

[2] It is a pity that Moens does not give his references for his account of this small and ignorant but highly interesting Church. So far as relates to the end of the 17th and the 18th centuries it is probably based to some extent on contemporary notices in the Dutch records of Cochin, in which such notices may yet be found, *e.g.*, the lengthy letter to Batavia on the subject referred to by Stein Van Gollenesse (v. page 92 above) and correspondence with Archbishop Basilius in M.S. No 603. The writers referred to by Moens, La Croze (1723) and Asseman (1728) are still principal authorities on the subject. In English there is a large literature from Geddes' History of the Church of Malabar (1694) taken from Portuguese sources to the account by G. T. Mackenzie, sometime Resident in Travancore and Cochin, in the Travancore Manual (1906). The "Syrian Church in India (1892) by G. Milne Rae, teacher in the Christian College, Madras, is of value and Hough may be consulted, as also the Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae (Alleppey, 1903). A perusal of Mackenzie's concise account will give a clear view of the problems involved. It was first published separately in pamphlet form in 1901 and subjected to the criticism of persons interested (see, for instance, a pamphlet by Dr. Xavier, Bishop of Cochin, published at Ernaculam in 1903 which contains interesting extracts from the old Portuguese writers. Mackenzie's is an erudite little work and references will be found in it to all the chief authorities. Readers of the various accounts will not fail to be struck by their sectarian bias, which is most marked in Geddes and Hough. Mackenzie has drawn chiefly from Roman Catholic sources and has written under Roman Catholic influence. The theory to which he does not refuse support, that when the Portuguese first arrived in India they found a Church essentially Catholic, is however repudiated by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cochin and certainly does not appear to borne out by early Portuguese and Italian writings. What evidence there is goes to show that the Portuguese found the Malabar Church Nestorian.

and having converted many, proceeded to the coast of Malabar, and first arrived at Cranganore, converted many to Christianity in this place and Maliankarre, Cottecay, Repolim, Gekkomangalam, Pernetta and Tiruvangotta, and after having built some churches and appointed two priests, returned, it is supposed, to Coromandel, and there again made so many converts that the Brahmins out of anger at the falsehood of their religion having been proved, and at that of the apostle having been proved true by public miracles, stoned him to death and pierced him with a lance; not to mention many other particulars, amongst others those of the travels, miracles and work of conversion of this apostle, of which so much is told and invented especially by the Roman Catholics, that they are more like trashy fables than any semblance of truth.[1]

However it is known that the Christians at Mylapore have been very numerous from time immemorial, and that they greatly increased in numbers, and long flourished there, notwithstanding the scorn and hard treatment they received from the heathens, till at last this town was devastated and the Christians persecuted by fire and sword. They were then dispersed over other countries, where they received gentler treatment, especially on the Malabar coast and more particularly in the kingdoms of Cranganore, Coilan, Travancore, in the cities of Calicut and Todomale, as also in the towns of the Malabar highlands.

One of the most remarkable incidents in the history of the St. Thomas Christians is the following: In the 4th century, according to the reckoning of the Malabaris, there arrived at Cranganore a merchant from Syria named Thomas Cnay or Cana with some priests and other Christians from Bagdad, Mosul and Jerusalem. After having obtained great influence with the princes by means of his riches and wealth, he secured for the Christians—who had chosen him as their head—great privileges and brought it about that they were not only ranked among the nobility of Malabar, but were even preferred before the royal Nairs (which is the title given to notables and noblemen among the Malabaris). They were also granted the privilege of trading all over the country, of building shops and churches and certain honours, which could be used by no one without special leave of the princes.

The annals will even have it that this Thomas obtained a written grant of the aforesaid privileges, engraved on a copper plate, which was preserved with the most extreme care and is still supposed to be in the church of Tevalkarre near Calicoilan. But however much trouble I took, nay, however much money I offered, only to see that plate for a moment and to get a copy of the inscription, I was unable to succeed. They did not deny in so many words that there was such a copper plate in that church but the reason why I was not allowed to see it lay, as I was assured with much secrecy, that when the King of Travancore, after the last treaty with the Company in the year 1753, was taking action to expel the kings of Coilang, Calicoilan, Porka and Tekkencore, which he really did later on, His Highness had made enquiries at that time about the aforesaid copper plate. The temple authorities, fearing that the king would keep the plate and would then expel them also, had publicly disavowed that there was such a plate, and now must deny its existence to everyone. They added however that there was a footnote at the bottom of the above-mentioned copper plate to the effect that the particulars of that privilege could be seen more fully on a large stone, which was to be found in the pagoda of Cranganore. I also made enquiries about this stone, but again in vain, for the King of Cranganore, his ministers and the temple servants assured me that such a stone was not to be found in the pagoda. I put this down at first to the usual suspiciousness of the native, and the common habit of the heathen of keeping secret from us all that concerns their religion, and especially the monuments in their religious buildings, and as I am not for using force in such things, which is also inexpedient, I let it be with the intention, should opportunity offer, to get at the truth by gentle means, and if there was really such a stone to get a copy by secretly filling the hands of the temple servants; but when at the close of the year 1776 Nabob Hyder Alyckan invaded the possessions of the Company and

[1] There is no evidence of the existence of the Malabar church till the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (beginning of the 6th century), and no evidence of the existence of the Coromandel church till later.

the little kingdom of Cranganore, and then desecrated and destroyed the pagoda in question, I took the opportunity to have the pagoda searched. In it there were found two stones, one very large and the other of medium size, both engraved with old Malabar characters. I was delighted and thought I had found something which might throw much light on the history of the St. Thomas' Christians, and decide various doubtful points. When, however, after much trouble I got them translated at last—for it was a language which differs as much from the Malabar language of our times as the old Dutch from the present—I found that one was a sort of hymn of praise to one of their gods, and the other a heathen prayer.

Later on I heard from a Syrian Priest, who has come over to us and about whom I will say more hereafter, that he had no knowledge that the copper plate was still to be found, at any rate, that although he was born in Malabar, had grown up among the Syrian Christians, and even been one of their priests, nothing of the sort was known to him, so that the search for this written patent was vain and one might well doubt, whether such a patent was ever really granted to this Mar Thomas or indeed to these Christians, and who can tell that the tradition of such a patent being granted to the Christians has not been borrowed from or got mixed up with the well-known patent on copper plates, with which privileges were granted to the Jews here, and about which we shall speak more fully further on in our chapter on the Jews[1] ?

Assemanus is of opinion that the above-mentioned Mar Thomas was the Bishop Thomas, who was sent to India with some others and several monks from the monastery of Beth-Abensis by Timothy, the Patriarch of the Nestorians, about the year 800.

This Assemanus was by birth a Maronite from Mount Lebanon and later on Bishop. His brother is still in Rome, in the Propaganda Fide, according to a communication from the present Father Clement, a bare-footed Carmelite and Vicar at Verapoly here.

Others are of opinion that this Thomas was the first to give occasion to corruption of pure doctrine by causing priests to come from Syria to India.

It is not impossible that Nestorianism was introduced here among the Christians at that time, but the annals of these Christians put it down somewhat later and record that after the year 829 two Bishops named Mar Sapor [Sapir] and Mar Peroses [Prodh] arrived from Babylon, and obtained from King Sjangara Irawisri permission to build churches in his territory, for which purpose the king even granted them some revenues.[2] By Babylon is really meant Modaim or Seleucia, the old residence of the Nestorian Catholicus or Patriarch which, though now buried under heaps of rubbish, was situated in the old Parthian kingdom and has been mistaken by many for the ancient Babel in Mesopotamia and the old Bagdad of our times.[3]

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[1] The story about Thomas Cana does as a matter of fact appear to be derived from copper-plates which were in existence in the 16th century. Gouvea, Jornada, page 4 (quoted in Mackenzie) says the Syrian Bishop, Mar Jacob, entrusted them to the Portuguese authorities at Cochin, who lost them. This is also said in De Conto, 7th Decade 1. 15 and 12th Decade, II 283 where a translation of the grants is given. A fuller translation is given in a Jesuit MS. in the British Museum and is reproduced in English by Mackenzie, Travancore Manual II, 139. The grant recited how one Thomas Cananco arrived in a ship and the King granted him first the town Mogoderpatanam and afterwards a forest which Thomas cleared and founded a church and a town in it. The King also granted Thomas "seven kinds of musical instruments and all honour and the right of travelling in a palanquin, etc." These copper plates are lost, but others exist, one a grant on five plates (of which one plate appears to have boen lost again very recently), and another a grant on one plate (Translation in notes to next chapter). These grants are now in the Jacobite Syrian Church at Kottayam. They were found in Cochin in a record room by the British Resident in 1806. Probably they were lying among Mr. Moens' records when he was doubting whether they existed. The one plate grant is dated, according to the latest expert pronouncement on the subject, Saturday the 15th March 1320 (Ep. Ind. IV 290 and VI 84). It was formerly placed in the 8th century and the five-plate grant in the 9th century (Dr. Burnell) or even earlier (by pundits of no authority, see Travancore Manual II, 125 .—Two old inscribed stones exist. They are now in the Valiapalle church at Kottayam. The older stone said to belong to the 7th century, has a Christian motto in Pahlavi (translations, Travancore Manual II. 143) ; there is a similar stone in the church at St. Thomas Mount (Mylapore Christians). The second stone, said to be of the 10th century, has an inscription in Pahlavi and Galatians VI. 14 in Syriac. The stones are said to have been brought to Kottayam from Cranganore.

[2] The origin of this story is to be found in the existing five-plate grant, which recites that Miruvan Sapir Iso gives certain land with the permission of King Stanu Ravi (Changara Iravisri). Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh are historic, their date being 880 A.D. (Le Quien's Oriens Christianus, II. 1275, quoted Travancore Manual II. 144). There seems to be no reason to identify Mar Sapir with Miruvan Sapir Iso of the copper plate.

[3] Ctesiphon—Seleucia, a double city on both banks of the Tigris, was called Al-Modain (double city) by the Arabs, and was the capital of the great Parthian empire which successfully withstood the Roman emperors. The Bishops in question seem, as a matter of fact, to have come from Bagdad whither the Nestorian patriarch transferred himself in the middle of the 8th century (Milne Rae, page 108).

Since it is nowhere clearly stated, except in the Malabar traditions, that the apostle St. Thomas really preached the gospel in these countries and we know for very certain on the other hand that Thomas, the Syrian, arrived here to preach the gospel in the seventh century and left behind him a great reputation for sanctity, there is some reason to doubt whether these St. Thomas' Christians are not so called after this Thomas. But leaving this question alone, I proceed with the chief events known from their annals and traditions.

These St. Thomas' Christians then, being favoured with privileges, increased, it is said, in influence, power and number among the nations of the country, became bold through all these advantages and desired, just as the Israelites of old, a king over them and did in fact appoint one, by name Balcarte, and gave him the title of king of the St. Thomas' Christians. His descendants are also said to have succeeded him on the throne until at last one came to die without offspring. In his place was elected with the common consent of the people a king, who was at the same time king of Diamper or Odiamper [Udayamperur], which is distant 3 miles from Cochin to the south in the present territory of the king of Travancore and so is wrongly located by Valentyn near Mylapore or St. Thomé; when the kings of this dynasty also had died out altogether, the kings of Cochin are supposed to have got possession of that kingdom.[1]

It is probable, therefore, that in that long interval the persecutions took place of which their annals say that the persecutions by the heathen kings of Christian teachers, who arrived here from other places, were so great that a complete extermination of Christianity was feared.

In addition to this, the Christian teachers who still remained died in course of time so that the churches were deprived of pastors. There remained at last only a deacon, whom every one obeyed as a prince of the church, and things went so far that the Christians through impatience and ignorance compelled this deacon to perform sacerdotal functions until such time as other suitable ministers could be obtained from other places.

Through this dearth of pastors, and also through an increasing decline in zeal it was brought about that many heathen errors and superstitions were gradually introduced, and even that many fell off from the Christian faith and became heathens.

These Christians obtained leave in course of time from the kings of Cochin to create one of their priests an archdeacon, and this office was confirmed by the king with the rank of a Rajadore [Port. regedor, high officer] of the kingdom, and power to decide all civil disputes among people of his own faith.[2]

Under the kings of Cochin they hardly had to endure persecutions, but rather enjoyed a sort of protection, which is still accorded by the king of Cochin on condition that they pay to him, besides the ordinary taxes, *the Perusandram* [Purushántaram], being a certain sum of money, estimated according to the inheritance being large or small, which must be paid by the heirs when the head of a family dies.[3] But this relates only to the Syrian Christians of Odiamper, while there are very many Christians scattered about under other princes.

Such was the condition of the Malabar St. Thomas' Christians, when the Portuguese under the command of Admiral Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut with three ships on the 18th of May 1498.

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[1] *Balearte* is perhaps Malayalam *Valiervattan* (Valia great). The Jesuit collection, Oriente Conquistado II. 69 quoted Travancore Manual II. 147, says Balearte was no Christian, but a heathen ruler.

[2] *Archdeacon*; an important office in this church, which usually imported its bishop, but had its Archdeacon in its own bosom: Father Joseph di Santa Maria, Prima Speditione, 2; "The first dignity after that of Metropolitan is that of Archdeacon, which by ancient privilege goes by succession in one and the same family and has very large privileges in the manner of the Greek Church; besides that the Archdeacon is like the Chief and Prince of the St. Thomas' Christians who have no other secular or sacred dignity belonging to their own nation." Father Joseph is the Bishop of Hierapolis mentioned below as sent out by the Pope in 1660 to bring back the Syrians to the fold, and is an excellent authority. The chief men of the ignorant Malabar church always seem to have been willing to add to their own claims in the eyes of their people by obtaining the recognition of a distant patriarch or pope, but at the same time anxious to keep real power in their own hands; about dogma they seem to have cared very little. This is sufficient to explain their veerings to Roman Catholicism when the Portuguese were a power in the land, to Protestantism when the English became powerful and at another time from the one extreme of Nestorianism to the other of Eutychism, without imputing evil actions and threats of secular terrors either to Archbishop Menezes in the 16th century or to the C.M.S. missionaries in the 19th.

[3] Compare Malabar Commission's Report, 11th October 1793, paragraph 531: "Pooreshandrom, the essential attribute of dominion in Malabar."

This Admiral returned to Lisbon after a stay of three months, and came again for the second time to Malabar with 20 ships in the year 1502, after being created a Don by King Emmanuel.

And as the St. Thomas Christians had heard that he would make these countries subject to a Christian king, they sent him their ambassadors with the request that they might be taken under his powerful protection, in order to escape the vexations of the heathen kings; they added that although they were better off under the kings of Cochin than under others, they had not been entirely free from disagreeable treatment. These ambassadors presented the Admiral, as a token of their voluntary submission, with a small red stick, the tops or ends of which were covered with gold, and one of them fitted with three little golden bells, this being a sceptre with these people, and a symbol of royal dignity.

Don Vasco da Gama promised to grant their request, but the course of events did not allow their wishes to be fulfilled and so they have never been able entirely to throw off the yoke of the heathen kings, though these kings have since become more accommodating in religious affairs and have hardly troubled about the civil affairs of these Christians, but have left even legal jurisdiction to the Bishops.

In the year 1500 four Syrian Bishops named Mar Mardina, Yena Alley, Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas arrived on this coast. We also find it recorded that in the year 1504 two bishops, named Thomas Yaballaha and Jacob Denha had informed their Patriarch by letter of the arrival of the Portuguese in these countries. It may be that these two are the two last named of the above-mentioned bishops, Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas, at any rate Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas governed the church many years and died here at an advanced age.

After them, there came in the year 1550 another bishop named Mar Abraham.

Meanwhile the Portuguese were trying to introduce the Roman Catholic religion by all manner of means and issued a decree that in future no Syrian Bishops and priests would be allowed to come to Malabar, and with this object in view they posted guards everywhere and had all those they could lay hands on seized and put to death.

In the year 1558 the head of the St. Thomas' Christians here was an Archbishop called Mar Jozé [Joseph]. In order to obtain the favour of the Portuguese he introduced among the St. Thomas' Christians the Roman manner of performing mass. But this complaisance was really only a means of bringing back to their old religion the Syrians who had joined the Roman Catholics.

The Portuguese found this out and summoned him to a public argument about religion with the Roman Clergy, for which purpose he came to the town of Cochin but was arrested by the Portuguese, who sent him first to Goa and subsequently to Lisbon. The Roman Priests and Portuguese here meanwhile used all endeavours to unite the Syrian Christians with themselves and to reduce them to obedience to the Pope, to which however the Syrians could never be moved. At last the Portuguese prevailed on the above-mentioned Syrian Bishop Mar Abraham to travel *via* Portugal to Rome and to take an oath of fidelity to the King in temporal and to the Pope in spiritual matters, on condition that the Syrians should keep their own rite, which the Pope agreed to. This Mar Abraham then came back, but would not consent to any change in their usual Church solemnities, notwithstanding that the Roman Catholics made various vigorous attempts to bring this about.

After the death of this Mar Abraham, which occurred in the year 1599, the Archdeacon Jorge [George] remained their head for want of a bishop, but did not get on with the Portuguese, and refused them all obedience until at last there arrived from Goa Don Fre Aleixo de Meneses, Archbishop and Primate of India, who was also, after the death of the Viceroy, head of the temporal affairs in India. He managed by his great influence and with the help of the Jesuit Ross [Roz], a clever theologian and linguist, and also by gifts and presents, to settle the dispute for some time, and to bring the Archdeacon Jorge with his Christians completely under the yoke of Rome, with the exception of a Church of Tirnvankatta near Cape Comorin which still belongs to a sect of St. Thomas' Christians, called Taridayken Mara, who did not secede, while the five parishes in the north, in the territory of the Zamorin, did indeed secede at that time, but soon returned to their own religion.

It appears from the 18th Canon of the third session of the Council of the Church which this De Meneses held at Odiamper—the acts of which were printed at Rome—that Jorge repudiated the tenets of Nestorius and separated himself from the Patriarch of Mosul pro forma, and found himself compelled to acknowledge the hierarchy of the Pope of Rome [1].

It was in this way that the Syrian Christians were for the first time united to the Church of Rome. This lasted till the year 1644, when the Portuguese heard that a Syrian Bishop was expected to arrive on the Coromandel Coast by a Moorish ship. They sent out ships to cruise about in search of it. This bishop by name Attala—others call him Mar Motti—fell into their hands and he was thrown into the sea here in our roadstead with a stone about his neck, which deed of horror is marked as a blot of the deepest dye in the annals of the Syrians [2].

No sooner did the Syrian Christians hear of this than they called together a meeting at Mattancherry, about a quarter of an hour's walk from this town, and pledged themselves with an oath never more to obey the Roman Bishops of the Portuguese, and at the same time they chose the Archdeacon Mar Thomé Gampho as their bishop.

He had however not tact enough to keep his flock united; for many of them, after the lapse of some years, again submitted to the Portuguese till the year 1655 when two bishops arrived from Antioch, called Mar Basilius and Mar Johannes, who were received with great rejoicings by these Christians, and then many of these Christians left the Roman church and submitted themselves to the Patriarch of Antioch.

It is remarkable that these Christians paid tribute to the king of Cochin even when they were under the sway of the Portuguese. But the above-mentioned Mar Thomé was a born Malabari and chief pastor of the Syrian Christians when Admiral Rijklof Van Goens captured the town of Cochin and the other forts on this coast. After the deed of horror referred to above had been committed, the Portuguese Bishop went to Cranganore and secretly wrote letters to the Syrian Christians. He also sent them presents, by which many were seduced, so that various of them went over to him.

The Portuguese meanwhile bribed many of the Rajas in whose territories the Syrian Christians lived to induce them to visit them with every sort of annoyance, vexation and persecution. The consequence was that these Christians became divided among themselves and a good many of them remained faithful to the see of Rome, and nominated a priest by name Alexander de Gampho Bishop.

This bishop remained mostly in regions near the shore. He had however also some churches inland under his jurisdiction.

But in the year 1676, as he was very old, they appointed in his stead as bishop his cousin Mathias Gampho, who continued to be co-adjutor or assistant as long as the old bishop was alive. The remaining or greater part of those Christians adhered faithfully to their bishop Mar Thomé de Gampho—also a cousin of Alexander de Gampho. He resided on the hills, and had also many churches in the plains.

In the beginning of the year 1700 the Patriarch of Antioch sent a bishop named Mar Simon to Malabar. This bishop had given notice to the Syrian Christians who live here of his intended arrival by means of letters. But these letters unfortunately fell into the hands of the Jesuits and Carmelites. They posted guards everywhere and when finally they laid hands on Mar Simon they conveyed him a prisoner to Pondicherry where they put him in irons.

After him, there arrived here in the year 1705 Bishop Mar Gabriel from Bagdad. He died here in Malabar in the year 1730 after having suffered much at the hands of Mar Thomé.

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[1] The proceedings of the Synod of Diamper will be found printed in Geddes and Hough.

[2] *Ahatalla* is Syriac for Adeodatus, God-given. The Travancore Manual II. 183 quotes documents which show that Ahatalla was as a matter of fact sent to Lisbon and died at Paris on his way to Rome. Ahatalla was sent by the Jacobite or Eutychian Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius XXIII, as were the bishops mentioned just below.

During the time of Bishop Mar Gabriel, there was here another Bishop also called Mar Thomé, a native of Malabar. These two prelates were always at variance and strife with one another, for the first was a Nestorian and the second a Eutychian.[1]

In the year 1735 the first-mentioned Mar Thomé died, and was succeeded by his cousin Mar Thomé.

At his instance, and that of the Syrian congregations, the Patriarch of Antioch sent the three Bishops Mar Basilius, Mar Gregorius and Mar Johannes to Malabar in the year 1751.

When they first arrived at Bassora in Persia, they were kindly received by the officers of our Company there, and in due course conveyed here in one of the Company's ships. During their stay in this town they were assigned suitable lodgings by the Commandeur, and shown every courtesy. The Bishop's arrival was also made known to Mar Thomé with an intimation that he should come here. Mar Thomé however denounced the bishops, who had arrived, as heretics to the Syrian congregations and would not appear before them notwithstanding that three letters were sent to him from time to time, and that many Syrian priests and Christians had come to pay their respects. Thereupon the Commandeur was going to have him brought to Cochin by force, but he came to hear of it, and fled inland, and they could not lay hands on him.

After this the community of Candanatty came to Cochin, fetched the Bishops and conducted them to Candanatty, a village belonging to the king of Travancore, situated about five hours south of Cochin, where the Syrian Bishops have always resided. Although there were some other communities, who acknowledged them as legitimate Bishops, yet they were set on and incited by Mar Thomé not to submit to them.

In the year 1753, on the occasion of a meeting between the king of Travancore and the then Commandeur at Mavelicarre, a village belonging to the King of Travancore 20 hours south of Cochin, our Commandeur introduced these Bishops, who were also present, to the king and recommended them to his protection. Thereupon His Highness commanded Mar Thomé and his followers to acknowledge these Bishops and to live with one another in mutual friendship. For some time Mar Thomé obeyed, but when he saw that the Bishops zealously busied themselves with cleansing the church from many Roman ceremonies and heathen superstitions, and also from many unworthy teachers and members, who for want of proper instruction in the faith, and through a laxity of discipline, had slipped into the church from time to time; and more especially when he saw that they withstood his ordination of unfit youths as priests and the conferring of ecclesiastical offices on unworthy persons, he controlled himself, it is true, for some time out of respect for the king and the Company, but after the death of the last king of Travancore, which happened in the year 1758, after having secured by means of presents the support of the principal favourite of the new king, and of other Rajadores, he not only caused dissension and discord between the Bishops and their communities, but also obtained in the year 1760 for his cousin, an inexperienced young man, the dignity of Bishop, in order that he might become his heir and successor after his death.

The Archbishop Mar Basilius and his two suffragan bishops were much chagrined and displeased by this, and the former took up his abode in a house at Mattanchery, just a little outside this town, where after a lapse of three years he died in the year 1763.

His successor Mar Gregorius, not wishing any longer to govern the church on account of old age and infirmity, settled down at Molendurty [Mulanturuthi] beyond Candanatty, where he died in the year 1773.

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[1] *Nestorian* and *Eutychian*: these names take us back to the 5th century A.D. when the Christian Church had not yet finally settled how many persons Christ had and how many natures. Nestorius gave Christ two persons, one human and one divine, while Eutyches was a violent anti-Nestorian who denied even the two natures: "that distraction of Persons wherein Nestorius went awry and this later confusion of Natures which deceived Eutyches." (Hooker, Works, 1836, II, 289). Mar Gabriel was sent to Malabar by the Nestorian patriarch Elias X (Travancore Manual II. 203). He is mentioned by his contemporary Canter Visscher.

At last in the year 1765 Mar Thomé also died, and his cousin Mar Thomé succeeded him as Bishop. But he also always lived at enmity with Bishop Mar Johannes. They were however reconciled at last through my intercession and constant exhortations in the year 1773.

At present they have two Bishops, Mar Johannes and Mar Thomé. The first is fair in complexion and is a venerable old man with a long beard, dressed almost in the same fashion as all the old Jewish priests. He wears on his head a cap, like a turban, and seems to be a pious, modest and upright Christian; but the other, who is a Malabari by birth, seems to be a bumptious sort of person.

These Christians are dressed in the same fashion as all the other Malabaris with only a little clothing round the lower part of the body and a cloth on the head.

Their priests or cattenars mostly wear a pair of white linen drawers, which are wide and hang down over the knees, and above this they wear a flowing robe of white cotton, sometimes made also of other material, which hangs down almost to the ankles.

On their heads they mostly wear a red cap, but the Maronites and others wear a black one, not unlike a sugar-loaf, narrow where it fits the head and broader at the top. Their neck is set off with a rosary of black coral and they hold in their hands a painted or rather lacquered stick, but much longer than our walking-sticks. They walk barefooted and their manners are the unpolished manners of persons who little know how to comport themselves in society.

The houses of these Christians are not mixed up with those of the other Malabaris, but they have separate quarters, where they live among themselves. They also seem to be very exact in keeping their family registers. They do not mix or inter-marry with newly converted Christians of lower castes or classes. The majority of them belong to the Nair caste or class of nobles, and for this reason they, like the Nairs, carry a sword in the hand as a token of their dignity.

The religious tenets of these Christians, or particularly of their bishops and priests are those of Nestorius and of Eutyches, whence the first party are called Nestorians, and the second Eutychians or Jacobites and also Monophysites, but these two latter names are really synonyms. There is also a third sect, the Maronites, but these have here joined the Church of Rome, while the Maronites in the Eastern Christian Churches in Asia Minor and Syria keep themselves aloof from the Church of Rome, as do the Nestorians and Eutychians there.[1]

These conflicting religious opinions predominate in turn according to the arrival of new Bishops, who are Nestorians or Eutychians. The Jacobites honour the saints just as the Greek Church does, but not so the Nestorians, who reject idol-worship and only allow a cross in their churches. In the churches of the Jacobites besides a cross one sees images painted on paper or engraved on metal plates. They celebrate the Mass in the Eastern manner with fermented bread and wine. If they cannot get wine, they make use of raisin water or something else which, according to their ideas, is nearest to wine. They communicate under both species with the peculiarity, however, that they break the bread in a dish, pour the wine from the chalice on it, and distribute this mixture with a spoon to the congregation.

The Nestorians teach that at the Holy Supper the body and blood is not received in reality but only in figure; and that the substance of bread and wine remains unchanged, but the Jacobites seem to accept transubstantiation They do not baptize their children until they are 40 days old, unless they are in danger of death or in some other emergency. The water they use for baptism is a mixture of cold and warm water with salt and consecrated oil.

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[1] There are four patriarchs of Antioch, (1) the Orthodox at Damascus, (2) the Maronite at Kanobeen, Mt. Libanon, (3) the Jacobite at Amida (part of the year at Mardin), (4 the Roman anti patriarch at Aleppo. The *Jacobites* are so called from Jacobus Baradaeus of Edessa who revived the Monophysite (Single-Nature) heresy of Eutyches in the 6th century. Of them Gibbon (chapter 47) observes: "the superstition of the Jacobites is more abject (than that of the Nestorians), their fasts more rigid, their intestine divisions are more numerous and their doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precincts of reason." The *Maronites* of Mt. Lebanon joined Rome in 1182 A.D. They were then the only remaining Monothelites. "In the style of the Oriental Christians the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of Maronites . . . . in the controversies of the incarnation they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of one will or operation in the two natures of Christ was generated by their curious nature" (Gibbon). They held that Christ had only one will or energy. The orthodox view is of course that Christ has two wills, one divine, one human. The derivation of the term Maronite is uncertain. Monothelitism is Greek for single-will-ism.

The Nestorians do not believe in purgatory, but set up a third place where souls remain in an insensible state till the time of the resurrection, when there is a paradise for the elect, and a hell for the damned. Further, they teach that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father. They associate just as little with the Roman Catholics as the Jacobites, and are called schismatics by the Romans. They allow their priests to marry but not a second time, and make use of the Syrian [properly Syriac] language and rites in their churches. Their Bishops, especially the Nestorian, usually show particular respect for the Protestant doctrines, and hence it may be thought that there is more probability of a union between these Christians and the Protestant Church than there was of their union with the Church of Rome, notwithstanding the fact that the Roman clergy used every means to this end and left not a stone unturned.

Of so many churches, which were formerly under the Syrian Bishops, they have at present not more than about fifty, of which they have about ten in common with the Roman Catholics. The other churches, and principally those of the Maronites, as was said before, have been attached by the Roman Missionaries to their church. I repeat this here, in order to add the following particulars, which are of some interest, namely, that although they have accepted all the Roman doctrines, yet the Pope has allowed them to make use of the Chaldean or Syrian rites and language in their churches, and also that this Rite, which had formerly been only written, was in the year 1774 printed at Rome in Syrian characters for the use of these united communities of Malabar with the following title "Ordo Chaldaicus Missae Beatorum Apostolorum juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Mallabaricae." There is also a catechism written in the Malabar language, or rather in Sanscrit, by the Carmelite Fathers, which was approved of by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, at Rome, and printed there in the year 1772 in Sanscrit characters, and is now used here with great profit.

I have just remarked that there would be greater probability of uniting the Syrian Christians with the Protestant Church than with the Roman Church, to which end the Roman Catholics have expended so much labour; and I have thought it my duty to make a trial, and to that end I have endeavoured to get this or that Syrian priest to come over to us; since these people, if they are rightly earnest and and have the required qualifications, are better fitted than other missionaries to preach the Gospel among the heathen, and to bring over to us their co-religionists, if not even many of the Roman Catholics, in view of the fact that having been born and bred in Malabar they are better acquainted than others with the language, manners and customs of the natives, and the peculiarities of the heathen, and can get on much more comfortably and thriftily in the country districts; the native is most easily to be converted by a daily intercourse with his own people and through his own language. I was fortunate enough to find such a man; at present he is being daily instructed in our religion by our Preacher with the help of an interpreter with the view of going out later on into the country to make proselytes. This person, at least so he tells me, will be followed by one or two others. They only wait to see how he will fare, and whether we will make much of him. For the rest I refer to what I have written about this to Batavia in a special letter, dated 5th January 1779

Herewith I would have concluded this chapter on the St. Thomas' Christians if I had not happened, after bringing my enquiries to a close, to hear accidentally that M Lacrose, Librarian of His Prussian Majesty, had already published several interesting particulars about these Christians in an excellent little work called the "History of Christianity in India."[1] In the beginning of the year 1778 the ordinary Member of Council and Governor of Ceylon, Falck, sent me some questions regarding the St. Thomas' Christians here, which I forwarded to Mr. Under-Merchant Cellarius, at present Chief of Cranganore, a linguist, a well-read man and a lover of the humane sciences. I also sent on to him the rough notes which I had at that time already got together about these Christians and placed at his disposal a person with a knowledge of the language so that he might the more fully satisfy

[1] La Croze's Christianisme aux Indes, the Hague, 1723.

Mr. Falck, and recommended that he should himself forward all the information he could collect to Mr. Falck with the object of so opening a correspondence with his Worship. This he did, and some time after got the above-mentioned little work by Lacrose from Mr. Falck to read. In this way I first came to hear about it.

I do not understand the French language, but I have got the above-mentioned Under-merchant Cellarius to explain me the gist so far as the St. Thomas' Christians are concerned, and so have seen that this learned writer has indeed said much that I was not aware was already well-known to the literary world; so that I had without knowing it nearly set out well-known things as new knowledge. However I have not altered my collection, and still less re-arranged it according to the cut of that work, but preferred to leave it as it is, and to give the information which has been dug up on the spot out of the antiquities and traditions of the St Thomas' Christians themselves without my ever having heard of the work of M. Lacrose. I have felt it my duty to tell this story; meanwhile it is enough for me that I have given additional information about the successive bishops and the condition of the Christians up to the present day, and so have touched on more than Lacrose was able to.

But since some points have come to my notice about which this gentleman is not well informed and which are better known and can be better known on the spot, I have thought it necessary to note down the following by way of fuller elucidation.

M. Lacrose has thought fit to accuse the Dutch Company of not having so much favoured the Malabar Christians of the Eastern Church as the Roman Catholics, but the contrary can be clearly proved from authentic documents on record here in the Secretariat.

The Company has never had any authority, nor could have, over the St. Thomas' Christians, who were always subjects of the country princes. Not even the Portuguese exercised any jurisdiction over them, although they did their utmost, with the consent of the King of Cochin, to make these Christians accept the doctrines of Rome, and acknowledge the hierarchy of the Pope.

The authority and the protectorate of the Company over the Roman Christians extend chiefly to those who live on the Cochin shores, the topasses and lascorins and fishermen who were subject to the Portuguese, and as such taken over by the Dutch Company.

Moreover we have, after the conquest of Cochin, not only favoured the revolt of the Eastern Christians against the usurpation of Rome, but also assisted them in getting out new Bishops from Syria, who formerly could not come without endangering their lives, by placing at their disposal the ships of the Company.

The administrators of this coast and the preachers of the reformed community have not only kept up a correspondence with the St. Thomas' Christians about maintaining, and advised them to maintain steadfastly, the rights of the Eastern Church against the Bishops of the Roman Catholics, but have also displayed much zeal in attempting to unite them with the Protestant Church.

The Home Authorities of the Company too have had the interests of these Christians at heart, and, to cite examples, have recommended their interests to the Malabar administration in letters from home dated 29th July 1710 and September 1730.

Doubtless these circumstances were not known to M. Lacrose; but it may be assumed that this learned man, if he had been able to get the necessary information, would have admitted that more could not have been asked of the Company, and it can certainly not be his opinion that the Eastern Christians should have been brought by force of arms under the jurisdiction of the Company; and the St. Thomas' Christians have never sought this; and what is certain is that these Christians have not since the arrival of the Dutch been disturbed in their religious freedom by the country princes, their legitimate overlords.

It must be acknowledged that the Roman Missionaries, especially those sent by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, have gained much ground, and

brought over to their side many so-called schismatics; but this was done by persuasion and intrigues and, besides, in the territory of the country princes, where the Company can exercise no control.

Several other particulars, especially with regard to the civil rights of the St. Thomas' Christians, which seem to have been taken over by M. Lacrose from the Portuguese writers, and which on enquiry in the places themselves have been found not to be entirely accurate, I pass over in silence, as trifles which do not affect in essentials the history of the St. Thomas' Christians of Malabar.

M. Lacrose also says that the copper plates or tables, on which are written the suppose privileges of these Christians, were entrusted here in good faith by Bishop Mar Jacob to the Portuguese of those times, who kept them negligently in a warehouse and lost them. From this appears, as I have remarked before, that it is not improbable that the tradition of a patent in favour of these Christians is mixed up with the well-known patent in which the privileges of the Jews here were granted, since this circumstance, viz., the keeping of the copper patent in a warehouse, has been specially inquired into by me, and it seems that it actually happened in the case of the patent of the Jews, of which I hereafter will make mention in the chapter on the Jews; which circumstance may have been unknown to M. Lacrose.[1]

II.—Roman Christians.

The second class of Christians on this coast are the Roman Catholics, otherwise called New Christians.

I have thought it not unserviceable to write something of these Christians and of their Bishops so far as I have been able to obtain particulars here, up to the present time, and to note at the same time for guidance how one must deal with their clergy, and keep a vigilant eye on them.

It is not improbable that before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, some missionaries of the Church of Rome had wandered through these regions; at any rate it is recorded that a certain Fre Jordan, a Roman priest of the preaching order, having preached at Thanna and Salset with great zeal against the doctrine of Mahomet, was put to death by the Moors there, but the time when this happened is not mentioned.[2] But in the year 1320 there are said to have been in Persia four Franciscans named Fre Thomas de Tolentino, Fre Jacomo de Padua, Fre Demetrino and Fre Pedro.

There is no doubt that when Admiral Vasco da Gama in the year 1498, and later on other Portuguese Admirals and Viceroys of Goa, arrived here, many Roman clergy accompanied them. For it is a well-known fact that hardly any Portuguese ship of importance put to sea, much less those bound on a long voyage, without having ordained priests on board; and it is known from Portuguese history that at the close of the year 1500, some Franciscan Fathers came out with Admiral Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and that Father Rhoteric, a Dominican, was busy converting heathens at Quilon in the year 1503[3]. This work first made real progress here as well as at Goa after the Jesuit Francis Xavier—a contemporary and one of the first disciples of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order—arrived at Goa on the 6th of May 1542. This zealous missionary did much for the spread of the Roman religion, and after having laboured for ten years on the coast of Madura, and on the island of Ceylon, and converted to Christianity many, yes even many Japanese and Chinese, at last died the death of a martyr in China in the year 1552.

After the arrival of the Portuguese in this country, the King of Cochin forbade his subjects, under pain of very heavy punishments, to embrace the Roman religion. But in the year 1560 the prohibition was withdrawn, and all were given freedom to believe what they liked.

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[1] Mr. Moens' doubts were not justified. Two copper plate grants to the Syrian Christians exist and one more appears to have been lost by the Portuguese, as stated by La Croze; see note on page 173 above.

[2] This Friar Jordan was consecrated Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII at Avignon in 1328 A.D. Two letters of this Pope's to the Christians of Malabar, dated 1330, are given in Vol. III of the Oriens Christianus (Trav. Manual, II 145).

[3] Father Rodrigo, a Dominican, was left at Quilon by the great Afonso D'Albuquerque in 1503 (D' Albuquerque's Commentaries).

In that same year 1560 a kind of inquisition was introduced here in order to curb the Jews who ridiculed the preaching of the Roman clergy.

During an interval of almost forty years nothing particular is recorded except that the famous Goanese Archbishop and Primate of India, Alexius de Meneses, held the Odiamper Synod, and brought back to the obedience of the Pope the majority of the Syrian Christians with their Bishop, as has already been mentioned in the section about the St. Thomas' Christians.

This Alexius, after having made many arrangements on this coast with regard to ecclesiastical matters, returned the same year to Goa.

The Roman clergy that has always been here and is here still consists of Europeans and natives. Among the Europeans there are the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Carmelites; among the natives we may count the topass [Eurasian, etc.], priests and cassenars [cattenars] or Malabar priests.

In the year 1600 Pope Clement VIII appointed as Bishop of Angemale, a village belonging to the Raja of Travancore, six hours' distance from Cochin, the Jesuit Father Francis Rotz [Roz], a Spaniard by birth. This place was formerly the residence of the Archbishops.

In the year 1609 the title of Bishop of Angemale was changed into that of Archbishop of Cranganore by decree of Pope Paul V. In the year 1617 the aforesaid Archbishop died.

In the year 1617, the Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier, also a Spaniard, was elected Archbishop of the Diocese of Cranganore, but died the same year at Goa.

In the year 1618 the Jesuit Father Stephen de Britto, a Portuguese by birth, was consecrated in order to take over and govern the Archdiocese of Cranganore. He died in the year 1634.

In the year 1636 he was succeeded by the Jesuit Father Franciscus Garzia Mendes, who died at Cochin in the year 1659, after holding the see nearly 23 years.

After his death, no Jesuit was raised to this dignity till 1701.

Meanwhile the Vicars Apostolic had had jurisdiction, as Archbishops of Cranganore, over the churches which will be mentioned more particularly below.

In the year 1701 the Jesuit Father Joannes de Ribeiro, a Portuguese by birth, who had been here many years before as a missionary among the Christians, brought back the office of Archbishop of Cranganore to the Jesuits.

The Jesuit Father Antonius Pimentel succeeded him as Archbishop of Cranganore in the year 1721 and died in 1751.

The Jesuit Father Joannes Aloysius succeeded him in the year 1752, and died in 1755. In the year 1756 the Jesuit Father Salvador a Regibus, a Portuguese by birth, was elected in his place. He ruled the Archdiocese of Cranganore with great skill till the year 1777, and then died at an advanced age.

To this Archdiocese belong thirty-six Syrian churches all of which acknowledge the Pope as their head, but follow their old church observances. Two of these thirty-six churches belong for the greater part to the Vicar Apostolic or Bishop of Verapoly, and seven of the thirty-six are shared by the Syrian Bishop; for the Syrian cassenars also perform their religious services in them.

The Jesuits, who had to leave this country when we arrived here, have since then not only returned, but have also obtained the governance of the Archdiocese, and have settled down outside the territory of the Company; to be precise, at Ambelecatte [Ambalakada], a village three hours beyond Cranganore; they spread themselves fairly well all over Malabar by setting up a seminary in the above-mentioned place Ambelecatte, where they teach the Malabar youth all sciences and languages for nothing; so that just about all the native priests are imbued with their principles.

At present, as far as I am aware, there is no one of this order left here except the Dutch Father Mathias Scherpenzeel, and the Father Rector, who both, since the abolition of the Jesuit order, have changed their dress a little, and now call themselves ex-Jesuits. Since for some years they have not received their annual

allowance from the King of Portugal, and the money which they received from their fellow-priests at Goa for their journey to Lisbon is much reduced, and probably finished, they have to live very frugally; for they have only a small income from their churches.

As far as I know, there is no Priest or Bishop about here belonging to the Franciscan Order, because the two Fathers of this Order, who, when we took over this town, obtained liberty to stay in town, and to officiate in their large church, shortly after left their church and went away. The Company, as next in succession, took possession of this church [1].

As for the bare-foot Carmelites, they also were certainly here in the time of the Portuguese; at any rate it is known that Pope Alexander VII sent Father Josephus a Sta. Maria, a Carmelite, to Malabar, in order to govern the Archdiocese of Cranganore, as Vicar Apostolic, with the title of Archbishop of Hierapolis, in the year 1660. After a stay of three years—for he was hated and opposed not only by the Portuguese, who preferred to see one of their own nationality invested with this dignity, but also by Mar Thomé—he returned to Europe, but first appointed in his stead in the year 1663 a native priest, named Alexander de Campo, as director of the Cranganore Church and Vicar Apostolic with the title of Bishop of Megara [2].

He died at a great age in the year 1691.

In the year 1676 three Carmelite Fathers arrived in Malabar with a pass from the Honourable Company. Their names were Fre Bartholemew de Spiritu Saucto, Fre Angelus Franciscus de Sta. Teresa and Bartholomeus Anna, Professor of the Syrian [Syriac] language.

The first of these asked for, and obtained, leave to come into the town, and declared to the Government here that he had received charge and orders from the Pope to choose and appoint a Coadjutor and successor, in place of the decrepit Bishop Alexander de Campo. He added, however, that he was specially commanded by His Holiness to choose a person acceptable to the Honourable Company. So he left it to the discretion of the Company to nominate an acceptable person. For many reasons, and especially with the object of keeping the Europeans out for ever, the cousin of Bishop Alexander de Campo, by name Mathias de Campo, was selected, and in order to exclude as far as possible the Jesuits of the Archdiocese of Cranganore, all the churches belonging to the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company were placed in his charge, but on such conditions that he could not dispose of them without the express foreknowledge and sanction of this Government.

It appears however from the notes of the Carmelite Fathers that they were not satisfied with this selection. For in the year 1677, at Mangatty, the two Fathers just named selected, under authority from the Pope, a certain Raphael de Figaredo Salgado [Figueredo Salgrado], a canon, visitor and governor of the vacant Episcopal See of Cochin, as Coadjutor and successor designate of the old Bishop, with the title of Bishop of Adrumeta and Vicar Apostolic of the Church of Cranganore; but this man died in the year 1693.

Father Didacus ab Annuntiatione, a fosterling of the Congregation of the Holy Evangelist John in Portugal, was installed as Archbishop of Cranganore in the year 1694. After holding the episcopal dignity for seven years, he resigned voluntarily.

It appears from a letter, dated 8th April 1698, from the Council of the Worshipful Seventeen at Amsterdam to this Government that to Peter Paul de Palma, [3] Archbishop of Ancyra, Councillor to the Emperor and His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Kings of Persia and Ethiopia as also to the Great Mogul, on application and promise of His Imperial Majesty that freedom of religion would be granted by His Majesty in his dominions to Protestants, was conceded and sanction

[1] And the British Government, as next in succession to the Dutch, now hold it. The Church of St. Francis at Cochin was built at the beginning of the 16th century and has been used by the Roman Catholic, the Dutch Reformed and the Anglican church in succession.

[2] This paragraph is correct except that Father Joseph was Bishop, and not Archbishop, of Hierapolis. He left a record of his mission (Seconda Speditione) which I have quoted from time to time.

[3] Father Peter Paul was a nephew of Pope Innocent XII. He died at Surat on January the 4th 1700 A.D. (Travancore Manual, II, 189). The Imperial Majesty referred to is the German Emperor.

granted in letters patent to send as before, with the exclusion of all other Roman clergy, some priests of the order of the bare-foot Carmelite to these countries. Their number, besides the four who were already here, was fixed at six or eight, but on condition that these Carmelites were to be *Dutchmen*, *Germans* or *Italians* and besides acceptable to the Honourable Company, and should be subject to them and bound to obey the orders and regulations of the said Company in the same manner as all other subjects.

In the year 1701 the Carmelite Father Fre Angelus Franciscus de St. Teresa succeeded the aforesaid Archbishop Didacus ab Annuntiatione in the Vicariate Apostolic, with the title of Bishop of Mettepolis, and ruled till the year 1704 the churches of the Malabar highlands. But Didacus ab Annuntiatione having written to Rome that everything here was administered by him in peace, an order came from Rome that Fre Angelus Franciscus de St. Teresa should again hand over charge to the Archbishop, which order he obeyed. When he saw, however, that the majority of the Christians had in course of time again joined the Schismatic church—the Romans always call the Syrians Schismatics—he reported the matter to His Holiness, and in the year 1711 again took charge of the churches of the Malabar highlands as Vicar Apostolic. He died the next year, 1712.

In the above-mentioned year 1704, the so-called Schismatic Christians assembled together with their Bishop Mar Thomé in the church of the Holy Martyr Gregory at Repolim [Edapalli], and wrote a petition to the Pope in which they complained that, on account of the manifold oppressions of the Paulists, they had been forced long before to separate themselves from the Roman Church. They next thanked His Holiness for sending them the Carmelite Fathers, and besought him at the same time to permit them to keep their old church usages, and to allow no one but Mar Thomé and the Bishop Fre Angelus de St. Teresa to rule over their churches; this petition was signed by Mar Thomé and also by twelve priests of the principal churches.

The Roman laity also sent a petition to the Pope on the same occasion, beseeching him, among other things, to let them continue free from the rule of the Jesuits. They informed him at the same time that through the exertions of the Carmelite Fathers after the disputes which had arisen, there were still 71 churches completely subject to the Pope and 18 besides which consisted half of Roman Syrians and half of Schismatics, and that the remaining 28 churches only belonged to the latter; but that these could easily be brought under His Holiness again by the good example and the zeal of the Carmelite Fathers.

And as the Malabar Church was divided in two, viz., a northern and a southern part, as in two sees, they requested that they might be ruled by two Bishops, viz., Fre Angelus de St. Teresa and Mar Thomé.

In the year 1714 Pope Clement XI appointed the Carmelite Father John Baptist Maria de Sta. Teresa to be Vicar Apostolic with jurisdiction over the churches of the Malabar highlands and the title of Bishop of Limira. He died in the month of April, 1750, at Verapoly.

The Carmelite father Fre Florentius a Jesu, a Pole by birth, was selected in his stead in the year 1751 with the title of Bishop of Areopolis. This Bishop, after having valiantly struggled through in the face of very many difficulties died in the month of July 1773 at Verapoly. I had more than once talked with him and he appeared to me to be a pleasant, edifying and learned man.

The duties of Bishop were performed after his death by the Father Superior Fre Anastasius a St. Hieronimo.

Afterwards, in the year 1775, there arrived Fre Francis de Sales, who had been appointed Bishop by the Pope with the title of Bishop of Germanicia.

This Bishop, before his departure from Europe, happening to be in Paris, called upon His Excellency the Ambassador of their High Mightinesses at the Court of France, and presented a memorial containing the request that a house be granted to him and his missionaries in this town in order that they might secure in it their property, and the valuables of the churches in time of danger, with a special prayer that the memorial should be placed before their High Mightinesses. His Excellency

the Ambassador complied with a letter, dated, the first of December 1774 and their High Mightinesses resolved in Council on the 7th December to forward a copy of the above-mentioned letter and enclosure to the Worshipful Directors for information. This letter and its enclosures were thereupon forwarded by the Council of the Seventeen to Batavia with their general letter, dated 10th April 1775, with orders to grant the request, unless there was a possibility of its giving rise to difficulties with the Native Princes, or there were other objections to granting it, in which case the objections were to be submitted to them. Thereupon Their Right Worshipfuls forwarded the above-mentioned letter and memorial on the 6th March 1776 to me and the council [of Malabar], with remarks to the above effect, and added that we should communicate direct to the Netherlands at the first opportunity the grant of the request or any objections we might have. The letter arrived here on the 19th September just at the time Nabob Hyder Alyckan had invaded our territory. On this account I was of opinion that it was better for more than one reason to keep the affair to myself and to dispose of it personally. As to the best of my knowledge I saw difficulties involved in granting the request, I set down my opinions about it in a special letter, dated 12th October 1776, to the Council of the Seventeen. In reply to this there came a letter, dated 25th September 1778, saying that my opinions were in every respect deserving of consideration. The Bishop however was prudent enough when he arrived here on this coast not to move at all in the matter either when he sent in the Papal Bull granted to him by Pope Clement XIV, besides the letter of His Holiness, and the deed of consecration as Bishop—which papers these Bishops here are obliged to show in order that this Government may take copies of them—nor afterwards. Nor was I able to discover during the short time that he was here the smallest sign of chagrin on his part; so I am convinced that he himself did not much expect that his request would be granted.

I have just mentioned the shortness of his stay here; scarcely a year after his arrival he got on very bad terms with the European priests at Verapoly, and this went so far that he left Verapoly and took up his quarters at Mangatty to be away from the other Fathers. He returned, however, to Verapoly after some Fathers who, he thought, had been the chief cause of the dissension, had left the place. There, namely at Verapoly, he remained till the year 1779, when there arrived from Bombay the Bishop of Carman, by name Fre Carlos Vanischt, with a commission from the Pope, which was shown to me, to make enquiries into and to settle the disputes between the aforesaid Bishop and the Fathers. For this purpose he proceeded from here to Verapoly. After he had been busy in vain for a long time trying to bring about a reconciliation, he was at last obliged to direct affairs so that Bishop Francisco de Sales resigned his office in favour of Vanischt, who according to orders from Rome was to remain, and is still there as administrator, until further orders from the Pope.

Under the jurisdiction of this Bishop, or as he is usually called here from his headquarters, the Bishop of Verapoly, are not only the four Latin churches, which follow the ceremonies of the Roman church, viz.—

Chattiatte,
Verapoly,
The chapel of Mattanchery, and
Perimani, behind the island of Bendurty [Vandurti] on the other side of the river (backwater), but also 47 Syrian churches which are inclined to the Roman doctrines, of which four belong partly to the Archdiocese of Putenchera or Cranganore and two are partly used by the schismatics.

Besides these, there are other Latin churches, which alone are subject to the Company, viz:—

The churches in—

Baypin [Vypeen]	Paponetty [Papinivattam on Chetway Island]
Cruz-Milagre [Miraculous Cross, on Vypeen]	Chettua [Chetway]
Balarparto [Valarparam]	Bendurty [Vandurti Island]
Paliaporto [Paliport on Vypeen]	Anjicaimal [Ernaculam]
Cranganore	

(although this [last-named] church formerly belonged to the Syrian Christians, yet later on it was handed over first to the Roman Christians, and after this to the protection of the Honourable Company, by the topasses [Portuguese semi-assimilated Native Christians, etc.] and Christian lascorins and other Native Christians, who live there)

Mattanchery [Native Cochin]

Senhora de Saude, and the Chapel of St. Janquebrado, which belongs to it,

St. Louis, and with it, the Chapel of St. Jago,

Castello [at Edacochi]

St. Andre with the Chapels of Tangie (Edatinkal), Tombolie, Caturty and Manicorde [Manacoram] [1].

The incumbents of the Roman Churches on this coast are native priests who are topasses [Eurasians, etc.] or cassenars [Syrian priests].

The latter are Malabaris, and are sometimes also called Malabar priests and serve the Syro-Roman churches under the Archbishop of Cranganore and the Bishop of Verapoly.

But the former are called topass priests, because they descend from topass ancestors; besides some mestics, that is, sons of Roman Catholic Europeans, who have been here in the service of the Company and married native Roman Catholic women, have had their sons educated for the service of the church. They follow the Latin ceremonial and church solemnities, and are the vicars or parish priests of the churches, which are under the protection of the Company. At times, however, it happens that, for want of Latin priests, the cassenars officiate in these churches, and administer the sacraments.

These topass priests are taught in the seminaries of Verapoly and Putenchera, and the cassenars in a sort of seminary or school in the church of Candanatty situated about three miles south from here.

The seminary of Verapoly is the best of the three. In this seminary are really two separate Carmelite seminaries—one for the Latin and the other for the Syrian United Christians. In the first six, and in the second ten boys besides two teachers are maintained at the expense of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome. The boys admitted beyond this number have to pay for their boarding and tuition until a vacancy occurs. These boys are taught the Latin and Syrian languages so far as they are necessary for the performing of their church duties. They also learn enough theology for their requirements as priests and missionaries. In the Latin seminary Latin and Portuguese books are in use so far as they are available, and in the Syrian seminary, Malabar and Syrian books. Having heard this seminary much extolled, I carefully informed myself whether the pupils were instructed in other necessary subjects besides theology; but discovered that they are only taught ordinary church Latin, and that with regard to theology they rather apply themselves to church usages than to the dogmatic part of religion. Still less are they taught natural theology, ecclesiastial or profane history, and even less geography, logic, physics or metaphysics unless there is found a pupil among them, who himself wishes to take up these subjects. The fathers will then train such an individual student in those subjects for which he has an aptitude. I have in my possession a map of India, or rather of the Ganges near Surat and the island of Ceylon, copied by a seminarist of this seminary, which is fairly well executed. This boy too applied himself more than others to Latin, and is at present an ordinary priest. This seminary therefore has a greater reputation than it is really entitled to. From this, one can easily form an opinion of those of Putenchera and Candanatty.

All these priests and churches are periodically visited and inspected by European priests who are sent to and fro from Rome. Among them is one, who is called Father Superior [Pater Governeur], because he is among them the first in dignity and takes charge of the diocese when the Bishop falls sick or dies.

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[1] The list given by Stein Van Gollenesse, pp. 91–92 above, may be compared.

Some of these European priests instruct the young in the seminary and the remainder visit the churches, make enquiries into the conduct both of the vicars and of the communities belonging to the churches, and report to the Bishop, except in matters which they can settle themselves.

If it happens that one or other vicar or village priest does not behave well, and will not amend in spite of censures or other correction, he is removed from his post and another man is appointed. But when this happens to an ecclesiastic who belongs to one of the churches under the Company, nothing may be done without special cognisance and sanction of the Company. The Bishop is obliged first to give information to the Chief of the Settlements of the misbehaviour of such a priest. When, after enquiries have been made among the community, the charge is found to be true, the Bishop is requested to propose another priest, who is as a rule accepted, and then appointed by the Chief by written order. This right must never be given up, however much the clergy may try to wring it gradually from us. It is even desirable that the Bishop or clergy of Verapoly should not be permitted to interfere at all with the churches of the Honourable Company, or visit them, still less take cognisance of the conduct of our vicars, because this can be ascertained sufficiently from the community or its representatives; just as in the Netherlands the See of Rome, or a neighbouring Bishop, would not be allowed to arrogate the least authority over the Roman churches and priests who are tolerated in the Netherlands; so that the visiting of those churches, and taking cognisance of the conduct of the Vicars is only winked at, but ought to be gradually checked and finally stopped entirely. Only recently I publicly cancelled the orders of the present Bishop with regard to a subject of the Company in the Worshipful Company's church of Aycotta, in which matter he had gone to work somewhat despotically and arbitrarily, and I ordered the vicar not to admit any authority of Verapoly over his church, still less to obey. The Prelate never expected this, and took it in his own way very ill. However, it has had this consequence: that since this incident, as far as I am aware, he has ceased to interfere so much with our churches. I have no doubt if he makes another attempt and is similarly brought to heel again, he will abstain entirely for the future, and not make a third attempt.

There is another thing one must look out for, namely, that the European priests should not interfere with the money and finances of the churches. To each church there are attached some prominent persons of the community, or elders, who represent the community. These, together with the vicar, look after the fields and gardens, which belong to each church, and, in a word, they are the persons who make disbursements and receive the revenue, and annually render an account to the community. Now when the European priests come and visit the churches, some of them have now and then claimed a right to direct the administration of this property, and it has thus happened that, owing to the respect felt for them, they have been able to play the master and thus benefit themselves, and about this the administrators of the church and the Vicar hardly dared to complain. But since property of the church consists of alms and legacies from the community, I have stopped the European priests meddling with it, and *per abundantiam* warned the Bishop to forbid the priests to interest themselves in the accounts of the churches.

When I came here the Bishop of Verapoly was treated with such respect that when he was to pay a visit to the Chief of the Settlements he was fetched by two councillors in a carriage, and taken to the residence of the Chief, where the so-called body-guard, which was at that time in existence, was lined up under command of an officer, and as the Bishop passed, both this and the main guard presented arms, and the officers made the salute with the spontoon [1]; and as he ascended the steps, a salute of nine guns was fired from the walls of the town, as is recorded in the diaries of that time. Meanwhile both the Bishop and the other Roman priests had obtained so much influence that they despotically exercised special jurisdiction over the Company's churches, and authority over the vicars, just as if they were their own churches. The first thing, namely the extreme honour shown to the Bishop,

[1] "Spontog" in the original. I take this to be a clerical error for "sponton" (Italian spuntone), the half-pike).

I immediately abolished, while his authority over our churches I gradually and little by little curtailed. I say gradually, for with the ease and rapidity with which all improprieties and abuses are allowed to slip in by complaisance, corresponds an equal difficulty in rectifying things of this nature all at once, especially as the Roman clergy have much influence over their Christians, who make so great a number here, and may be able at critical junctures to do us much harm or good. I am however of opinion that our right and authority over those churches must absolutely be maintained, and that the Roman clergy should be kept out, because they are always on the look-out to put their fingers into everything gradually, and to make themselves independent. This cannot be allowed, not to say that it would give foot-hold to the Portuguese clergy who would much like to come here, but could never be allowed to for political reasons. In connection with this matter I refer to what I have written about it to Batavia in my letter, dated 31st March 1780, from which it may be seen that the Portuguese Court has caused us to be sounded, through the channel of the Archbishop of Goa, as to whether it could get jurisdiction over our churches; which suggestion I promptly declined to consider at all and their Right Worshipfuls have recommended in their special letter, dated 30th September of the same year, that we should oppose such innovations downright in the same way, especially at the present time.

Among Roman Christians must also be reckoned the topasses.

The topasses live about here and along this coast, and come to us from the Portuguese, some of them having been slaves of Portuguese, who were emancipated, and others generated by mixing with native women.

So they rather belong to the native than to the foreign element. Since the Portuguese left this coast they have adopted the names of their former master or of old Portuguese families, so that there are few great families in Portugal whose names are not to be found among these topasses. They speak still, as a rule, common Portuguese or, as it is called here, low Portuguese, but are dressed in European style, though they usually go bare-foot and wear a white linen cap on the head and on top of this a hat.

There are great number of these topasses to be found along the coast of Malabar especially by the shore and near the forts of the Company. There are many in and around the town of Cochin, who live by all kinds of trades, there being among them many carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, shoe-makers, etc. They are also among them some who live only by making decorations, in which they are much skilled, for the Roman churches on feast days, also for weddings and other special occasions amongst us. Many of them also live by cultivation, and some enlist as soldiers in the Company's service, but these are as a rule lazy and worthless people, who do not know any trade or refuse to work, and hence enlist out of necessity. They can be used in a garrison for sentry duty, but I should not rely on them at all in the field, or the firing line. They have besides the characteristics of the Portuguese, and are Portuguese in their hearts as may be best seen when Portuguese arrive here from Goa and other places; for then one sees them quite in their element.

As has been remarked before, they are Roman Catholics and proselytes of the Portuguese. They are so much attached to this religion that nothing will induce them to give it up. Their superstitions outdo even those of the Portuguese and Spaniards.

They had formerly a Bishop of their own, who had his cathedral in the town of Cochin, just as the St. Thomas' Christians had their Bishop before in Cranganore.

When the Company took this town, these people were accepted as subjects and burghers of the Company and allowed the free exercise of their religion.

At present they are placed under a Captain, two Lieutenants and four Ensigns and other subordinate officers. They number altogether about 450 men. During my tenure of office I have given them a month's military training annually to teach them the use of the musket. But if in an emergency they had to be sent to the front, I believe it would be a long business to get them together, and I would not dare to reckon in such case on more than the smaller half at the most.

For the majority of them live scattered over the country, and in order to be out of danger would take to their heels as soon as they heard of the smallest rupture or the approach of an enemy. They are a ridiculous lot, on the one hand full of Portuguese pride, but on the other hand in time of danger they would, like the meanest Malabari, put up with privations in field or forest only not to expose themselves to danger. I know from experience how much trouble I had in the beginning to get them annually through a course of instruction.[1]

[1] Moens is here referring to a citizen levy of topasses, who were put through a course of drill once a year, not to the topasses who were recruited for the garrisons and formed part of the regular military forces. In 1780 the topass regulars were only 119, of whom 93 privates (MS. No. 1136).

CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGNERS ON THE COAST.

The foreigners here consist of Protestant Christians, Jews, Moors and also Heathens.

I.—Protestant Christians.

The Protestants came to this Coast with the conquest of Cochin, and since that time a preacher has usually been stationed in this town. Remonstrants, Lutherans and Mennonists attend this church and so join us in our worship. It is true this is because they have no churches of their own; however there is something charming in this, since all are, as it were, united here. Much is due to our Preacher, Peter Cornelisz, who refrains as far as possible from bringing before the congregation the differences between the sects, but only makes mention of them when necessary. When he has to speak about them, he does not attack the other sects, still less speak of them contemptuously, but treats the point in a most friendly way with Christian forbearance, which, however, is not at all like indifference about the subject. For when his Reverence treats of dogmas and rejects opinions inconsistent with them, he confines himself to the opinions in conflict with them, as opinions, and does not refer to the persons who hold them, with regard to whom he always expresses the wish that they may come to be at one with us in these respects. This is a procedure which is edifying and most Christian, and indeed some persons are thus attracted towards our community, and the labour of his Reverence here is not altogether without fruit, and, with regard to conversions, one may say we are as greatly blessed as perhaps any place in India, in proportion to our size; at any rate I have seen two Mennonists, one Syrian, one Roman Catholic, three Jews, four Muhammadans and two Heathens came over to us, be baptised and partake of the Supper of the Lord, altogether thirteen persons, all full-grown, who had attained their full years of discretion.

Recently the new-rhymed version of the psalms and the chanting of them in semibreves and minims have been introduced, while on the other hand the interment of corpses in the church and town has been stopped and two separate burial-grounds outside the town have been brought into use.[1] Through this and other domestic precautions this town, which was formerly as a rule musty, dirty and I may say unhealthy, is now everywhere clean, and enjoys a fresh atmosphere; which is a matter to which attention should continue to be given.

Besides a Preacher, there are here two readers or comforters of the sick, one sexton and one organist. The two last-named and the church have been maintained since the year 1765 from the Deacons' fund, which is, as far as I know, without example in India. It is so arranged here for the sake of economy. It were, however, to be wished that the church here as in other places should be maintained by the Company, the more so as we have here only one single church in the midst of so many Roman churches which lie scattered all round like villages in the Netherlands. The forts of Coilan and Cranganore have not even a comforter, although I have taken care that services should be held there nevertheless. In this connection, I refer to the Malabar resolution, dated 22nd August 1771, and I cannot refrain from remarking that I have more than once heard the Roman Catholics speak contemptuously about us on this subject to foreigners, who continually depart from and arrive here. Besides, the poor fund here is so small that it would not even be sufficient to support the orphanage and the outdoor poor, if an extraordinary piece of generosity were not occasionally shown to the poor; on which, however, we cannot rely, as such windfalls can only be temporary and accidental.[2]

The church council of this town consists of a political commissioner—who is always the second or second person here—the Preacher, two elders and four deacons.

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[1] The little old Dutch cemetery, full of tombs, in the town, is now one of the sights of the place. Some of the epitaphs may be read in Mr. J. J. Cotton's List of Inscriptions in Madras, Madras, 1905. There were burials both in the church and cemetery after Moens' time.

[2] In response to this appeal, the Batavia Council sanctioned the payment of the sexton and procentors salaries from the Company's revenues and ordered two Comforters of the sick to be sent from Batavia to serve Quilon and Cranganore (orders on this Memoir in Manuscript No. 1146; see Appendix X).

As I have given a list of the Roman clergy I shall also insert here a list of the Preachers of our reformed community, who have been here from the beginning till the present day; the more so because in examining the church records here, I have discovered that Mynheer Valentijn [1] has made many mistakes in his list of the Cochin preachers, and was perhaps not well informed about them.

The Rev. Anthony Scherius, who probably accompanied Admiral Rijklof van Goens, preached his first sermon in Cochin, after the capture of the town on the 8th January 1663. On the 23rd of the same month and on the 21st March, a solemn thanksgiving was held for the happy conquest of this town, while on the 15th April Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time. On the 8th January 1664, his Reverence again preached a solemn thanksgiving sermon on the conquest of this town, which custom is kept up annually to this day. In February he left for Galle.

The Rev. Henry Wallius came in November 1663 from Colombo, and died here in July 1665.

The Rev. Philip Baldaeus [2] arrived here on the 28th January 1664, and must have left again shortly afterwards, for nothing more is recorded about his Reverence.

The Revs. Jacobus Maxwez [3] and Bartholomew Heijnen arrived here in November 1664 from Batavia for the service of the churches in Ceylon, and left here for Ceylon in January 1665.

The Rev. Balthazar Obie de Meter arrived here from Ceylon in February 1665, but his Reverence died here the following March.

The Rev. Mark Mazius came here from Ceylon in the year 1666, but was sent to Batavia under suspension in April 1675.

The Rev. John Casearius [4] came here from Ceylon in February 1669, and left again probably in the beginning of 1677, for his last signature is found in the church register of Cochin under the 25th December 1676.

The Rev. Rudolph Meerland came here from Batavia in December 1676 and left for Ceylon in February 1692.

The Rev. Gerard D'Oude came here from Ceylon in the month of February 1692, but having been appointed as Rector of the seminary there, left in the month of March 1700.

The Rev. Gosuinus Hupperts came here from Batavia in February A.D. 1700 and must have left again in April 1705, for his last signature is found in the church register of Cochin under the 30th March 1705.

The Rev. Philip Gooting arrived here in the year 1705, and departed in February 1717.

The Rev. Cornelius Peter Shrevelius came here in January 1717, died in May of the same year.

The Rev. Jacobus Canter Visscher [5] came here in December 1717, and left for Batavia in December 1723.

The Rev. Peter Paul Van Breen came here in November 1723, and left for Batavia in November 1726.

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[1] The Rev. *François Valentijn*, himself a Preacher in the Company's service, author of the well-known work Oud en Nieuwe Oost-Indie (1724-6).

[2] *Philip Baelde* or *Baldaeus* was born at Delft in 1632, and came out to the East in 1655. He went Home in 1665 and wrote a book about Ceylon, Malabar and Coromandel which appeared in 1672, just after his death. He was a zealous person who learnt Portuguese and the elements of Tamil in order to re-convert Portuguese converts to Protestantism. He failed utterly with the Paravas of Tuticorin in 1658, but was more successful at Jaffna (1658—1665) where he had baptised 12,387 persons by 1663. Jaffna had been Christianised with their customary thoroughness in this matter by the Portuguese. Of a population of 300,000 more than half were Christians. Baldaeus' stay in Malabar appears to have been a mere visit. (Facts from Baldaeus' book and a study by P. J. Veth, 1867.)

[3] *Maxwez*. So spelt in the manuscript, but probably a mistake for Maxwel; *cf.* Batavia Diary for 1665, page 329, where the Rev. Maxwel is reported to have translated an intercepted English letter for Van Goens.

[4] *Casearius*, one of the Preachers of Van Rheede's time, assisted him with the *Hortus Malebaricus* by writing the Latin text of the earlier volumes. In his preface to the third volume of the *Hortus* Van Rheede observes of him: "A man of deep knowledge in almost every branch of science, botany alone excepted". His Latin is fair. In spite of his lack of Botany Nicholas Jacquin called a new genus of plants discovered in America *Casearia* after him. From the Batavia Diary, 1677, page 222, it appears that on the 13th July 1677 Casearius had recently arrived at Batavia ill and was given permission to go home. From complimentary verses dated 14th February 1678 and prefixed to the second volume of the *Hortus*, it appears that he died at Batavia.

[5] The Rev. *J. Canter Visscher* was the author of a little book entitled Letters from Malabar, which was published in 1743 after his death by his brother, also a Preacher in the Company's service (Preface to the book).

The Rev. Walerius Nicolai came here in the month of November 1726, and died in April 1736.

The Rev. John Philip Wetzelius, Preacher at Colombo, came here in March 1738, in order to conduct holy ministrations, and left again for his station in the month of April of the same year.

The Rev. Godfred John Weijerman arrived here from Gale on the 22nd January 1739, and died three months after.

The Rev. John Scherius came here from Batavia in January 1740, and died in August 1746.

The Rev. Mathew Wermelskircher, Preacher at Colombo, came on the application of the administration here in February 1747, and having conducted holy ministrations, sailed again for Colombo. In the month of March 1748, his Reverence came here for the second time, and left again shortly after. In the month of March 1749 his Reverence arrived here for the third time, and returned to Colombo again after a short stay.

The Rev. Herman Griesen was ordered from Batavia to Malabar in the year 1750, and left for here that same year by the vessel "Patmos", which was lost on the way with every soul on board.

The Rev. Charles Sezilles came here from Batavia in March 1752, and left for Jaffnapatnam in the beginning of the year 1761.

The Rev. Peter Cornelisz came here on the 3rd January 1761 and is still our minister.[1]

The Rev. Bastian Jansz arrived here in April 1763, in order to learn the Portuguese language, but has since been appointed to minister to the Portuguese Community at Batavia, for which place he departed in February 1764.

II.—The Jews.

The Jews are of all the foreigners the most ancient inhabitants. Their origin and the time of their arrival here are buried in obscurity. At any rate no records of any value nor documents have yet been found among them, which give authentic information regarding their arrival and history on this coast, and remove all doubts.

It is possible that the first batch of Jews came here with the fleet of Solomon, a statement which is accepted by M. Basnage [Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, 1705], or on the occasion of the leading into captivity of the ten tribes to Assyria by Salmanasser, or on that of the Babylonian captivity of the two tribes under Nabuthadnezar, as Mr. Hamilton will have it. There are however not the smallest proofs to give these guesses any verisimilitude. On the contrary, according to the general traditions of the Malabar Jews, about 1,000 people arrived in these regions a few years after the destruction of the second temple at Jerusalem. Thus if this account is accepted, it must have happened 70 years after the birth of Christ, when Jerusalem suffered greatly at the hands of Titus Vespasian, or in the year 136, when the said town was completely demolished by order of the Emperor Aelius Hadrian, after a rising of the Jews against the Roman Government, and a new town called Aelia Capitolina was built on the same site, within two hours' distance of which town the Jews were forbidden on pain of death to approach. It is also known that after the Commonwealth of the Jews was overthrown and the Levitic worship destroyed, this people was scattered over the whole east. They are found in numbers in Asia Minor, in Arabia, Persia, in Great Tartary and in China; and even in the territory of Rajapur [near Goa]. Some miles to the north of Bombay, there dwell black men, who call themselves Israelites and observe circumcision and also the Sabbath, but no other Jewish customs or laws. I said that no documents have been found among the Malabar Jews, which throw sufficient light on their history, notwithstanding the fact that we have the contents of a certain patent (granted) by the well-known Emperor Cherumperumal; for the different translations of this patent somewhat lessen the value or throw doubt on the authenticity of the document.

[1] The Rev. P. Cornelisz remained at Cochin after the place was taken by the English in 1795. The last entry in his hand in the Church Baptism register is under date 18th November 1802 (Whitehouse, p. 37).

This patent was usually in the keeping of the successive elders of the people, or to be precise their Mudaliars [Tamil *Mudali* first man, headman]. They kept it in a box in which the gold and silver ornaments of the synagogue were also preserved. This box was in its turn kept in a *pandal* [Mal., Tam., shed], viz., a kind of strong depository, something like a warehouse, in which the most valuable goods of the merchants are secured. In such a pandal was this patent deposited when in the year 1741 it came into the hands of the merchant Ezechiel Rabbi, who was at that time the first and most considerable of the Jews. He at once took steps to have the patent translated into the ordinary Malabar language by native scholars; it was then translated from this language into Dutch. And this is no doubt how M. Lacrose, having heard a garbled story, has recorded that the supposed patent of the St. Thomas' Christians was kept for some time in a warehouse and then got lost as has been mentioned by me in its place when dealing with that subject.

These copper-plates are pierced without any injury being done to the writing, like the *olas* [palm-leaves] of the Malabaris, in order to be tied together with a string. They are written in engraved characters, which are still to this day found in the three different dialects of the Malabar language, viz., the Tuling, Sanscrit and Tamil languages.

Scholars do not doubt the antiquity and authenticity of this memorial, but the several translations thereof, which differ widely from one another, seem to prove that it is now difficult to explain this old document.[1]

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[1] The copper-plates exist. The inscription is the Vattelutta or old Tamil character with a few Grantha letters in Sanscrit words. Many attempts have been made since Moens' time to translate them. Dr. Burnell, following Dr. H. Gundert (Madras Journal of Literature and Science, XIII, 1) and Mr. Ellis (Ib. XIII, 2) gave the following translation in the Indian Antiquary, III, 1874, page 334:—

Svasti Sri.—The king of kings has ordered (*This is*) the act of grace ordered by His Majesty Sri Parkaran Iravi Vanmar [Bhaskara-Ravi Varma] wielding the sceptre and reigning in a hundred thousand places, (*in*) the year (*which is*) the opposite to the second year, the thirty-sixth year, (*on*) the day he designed to abide in Muyirikkodu. We have given to Isuppu Irabban [Yusuf Rabban] Ansuvannam (*as a principality*), and seventy-two proprietary rights (*appertaining to the dignity of a feudal lord*) also tribute by reverence (?) and offerings, and the profits of Ansuvannam, and day-lamps, and broad garments (*as opposed to the custom of Malabar*), and palankins, and umbrellas, and large drums, and trumpets, and small drums and garlands, and garlands across streets, etc., and the like, and seventy-two free houses. Moreover, we have granted by this document on copper that he shall not pay the taxes paid by the houses of the city into the royal treasury, and the (*above-said*) privileges to hold (*them*). To Isuppu Irabban, prince of Ansuvannam, and to his descendants, his sons and daughters, and to his nephews, and to (the nephews) of his daughters in natural succession, Ansuvannam (is) an hereditary estate, as long as the world and moon exist. Sri. The charter is witnessed by various local chiefs.

The following is by Dr. G. Oppert, 1897 (quoted by Thurston as from Weber: Die Jüdischen Colonien in Indien. Kohut Memorial volume):—

"Hail and happiness! The king of kings, His Holiness Sri Bhaskara Ravi Varma, who wields the sceptre in many hundred thousand places, has made this decree on the day that he was pleased to dwell in Muyirikkodu in the thirty-sixth year of his reign. We have granted unto Joseph Rabban Anjavannan the [dignity of] Prince, with all the seventy-two rights of ownership. He shall [enjoy] the revenues from female elephants and riding animals, and the income of Anjavannan. He is entitled to be honoured by lamps by day, and to use broad cloth and sedan chairs, and the umbrella and the drums of the north and trumpets, and little drums, and gates, and garlands over the street and wreaths, and so on. We have granted unto him the land tax and weight tax. Moreover, we have by these copper tablets sanctioned that, when the houses of the city have to pay taxes to the palace, he need not pay, and he shall enjoy other privileges like unto these. To Joseph Rabban, the prince of Anjavannan, and to his descendants, and to his sons and daughters, and to the nephews and sons-in-law of his daughters, in natural succession, so long as the world and moon exist, Anjuvannan shall be his hereditary possession."

These two translations assume that Anjuvannan is a principality. Anjuvannan, as also Manigramam which is granted in the one-plate Syrian document, is mentioned in a poem called Payyanur Pattola, which is perhaps the oldest extent Malayalam composition. Dr. Gundert's abstract of this poem will be found printed in Appendix XXI to Logan's Malabar. Mr. Venkayya considers that the context in which the two words occur in this poem implies that Anjuvannan and Manigramam were trading corporations like the Valanjeyar (Epigraphia Indica, IV, 293). Dr. Hultzsch says of Anjuvannan. "The word means the five castes and may have been the designation of that quarter of Cranganore in which the five classes of artisans resided" (Epigraphia Indica, III, 67). Dr Holtzsch's translation (1894–95) is as follows:—

"Hail! Prosperity! Gift was graciously made by him who had assumed the title of king of kings, His Majesty the King, the glorious Bhaskara Ravivarman, in the time during which he was wielding the sceptre and ruling over many hundred thousands of places in the 36th year after the second year on the day on which he was pleased to stay at Muyirikkodu. We have given to Issuppu Irappan Anjuvannan together with the 72 proprietary rights, viz., the toll on female elephants and riding-animals, the revenue of Anjuvannan, a lamp in day-time, a cloth spread a palanquin, a parasol, a Vaduga (Telugu ?) drum, a large trumpet, a gateway, an arch, a canopy of an arch, a garland, and so forth. We have remitted tolls and the tax on balances. Moreover we have granted with copper-leaves that he need not pay (the dues) which the inhabitants of the city pay to the royal palace and that (he) may enjoy the benefits which (they) enjoy, To Isuppu Irappan of Anjuvannan, to the male children and to the female children born of him, to his nephews, and to the sons-in-law who have married (his) daughters, Anjuvannan an hereditary estate for as long as the world and the moon shall exist. Hail! Thus do I know Govardhana Martanda of Venadu. Thus do I know, Kodai Srikanthan of Venapailnadu. Thus do I know Manavepala-Manavyan of Erlanadu. Thus do I know, Iryiram Sattan of Valluvanadu. Thus do I know, Kodai Ravi of Nedumpuraiyurnadu. Thus do I know, Murklam Sattan, who holds the office of sub-commander of the forces. The writing of the Under Secretary Van-Talaiseri-Gandan-Kunrappolam."

The above appears on page 69 of Epigraphia Indica, volume III. Venad is Tamil for Travancore, Ernad is the Zamorin's country and Vallavanad is a well known principality which still existed in the 18th century and is mentioned by Stein Van Gollenesse on page 65 above. Dr. Hultzsch identifies Nedumpuraiyurunadu with Palghat.

The date of the grant is probably not earlier than the 11th century —see note below. Rao Bahadur K. Venkayya's translation of the somewhat similar Syrian grant (single copper-plate) of Manigramam which he places in the 14th century, is as follows (Epigraphia Indica, IV, 296):—

"Hail! Prosperity! Adoration to the great Ganapati. On the day of Rohini, a Saturday after the expiration of the 21st of the Solar month Mina, Jupiter in Makara, while the glorious Vira-Raghava Chakravartin (of the race), that

The following translation is by the above-mentioned Jewish merchant Ezechiel Rabbi, who was a diligent student of all that related to his nation. After it I will give another translation, which I got through our second interpreter Barend Deventer, from an old Malabar linguist, and lastly I will add yet a third version, which I obtained through our first interpreter, Simon van Tongeren, with the help of a heathen scholar of Calicut, in order thus not to set up the Jews as judges in their own affairs, and to place the reader in a position to form his own judgment in this debatable matter.

The first translation runs thus :—

"With God's help, who created the world and appoints the kings, and whom I honour, I. Eravi Vanvara, Emperor of Malabar, in the 36th year of our happy reign, at the court of Moydiricotta *alias* Cranganore, grant this act of privileges to the Jew Isup Rabaan, viz., that he may make use of the five colours, spread his religion among the five castes or races, fire salutes at all solemnities, ride on elephants and horses, hold processions, make use of cries of honour and in the daytime of torches, all kinds of musical instruments, as also a big drum ; walk on roads spread with white linen, hold bouts with sticks and sit under a curtain of state. These privileges we give to Isup Rabaan, and to the 72 Jewish households, provided that the rest of his nation must obey his orders, and those of his descendants, as long as the sun shall shine on the earth This charter is granted in the presence of the kings of Travancore, Tenkenkore, Baddekenkore, Calicoilan, Aringote, Sammorin, Paleatchery and Collastry ; written by the Secretary Calembi Kelapen in the year 3481, Kaliyogam [1]."

The second translation differs in essential points from the first, and would deserve more attention, if impartial Malabaris could be found to testify to its credibility, but the trouble I have taken to find such persons has been hitherto fruitless.

The said translation runs as follows :—

"In the quiet and happy time of our reign, we, Erawi Wanwara, successor to the sceptres, which for many hundreds of thousands of years have reigned in justice and righteousness, the glorious footsteps of whom we follow, now in the second year of our reign, being the 36th year of our residence in the town of Moydiricotta, grant hereby on the good testimony obtained of the great experience of Joseph Rabaan, to the said person to wear long dresses of five colours, to use carriages with what appertains thereto and all sorts of fans denoting nobility. He shall rank above the five clans, burn day-lamps, walk on spread-out linen, make use of palanquins, Payeng [2]

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has been wielding the sceptre for several hundred thousands of years in regular succession from the glorious king of kings, the glorious Vira-Kerala-Chakravartin, was ruling prosperously ; while pleased to reside in the great palace, we conferred the title of Manigramam on Iravikorttan *alias* Seraman-loka-pparun-jetti of Magodaiyarpattinam. We gave festive clothing, house pillars, the income that accrues, the export trade, monopoly of trade, proclamation, forerunners, the five musical instruments, a conch, a lamp in day time, a cloth spread, a palanquin, the royal parasol, the Telugu (?) drum, a gateway with an ornamental arch, and monopoly of trade in the four quarters. We gave the oil-mongers and the five classes of artisans as slaves. We gave with a libation of water, having written on a copper-plate, to Iravikorttan, who is the lord of the city, the brokerage on (articles) that may be measured with the para, weighed by the balance or measured with the tape, that may be counted or weighed, and on all other (articles) that are intermediate, including salt sugar, musk, lamp-oil, and also the customs levied on these between the river mouth or Kodumgulur and the gate, chiefly between the four temples and the village adjacent to (each) temple. We give (this) as property to Seraman-loka-uperun-jetti *alias* Iravikkorttan and to his children's children in due succession. (The witnesses) who know this: We gave it with the knowledge of the villagers of Penriyur and the villagers of Sogiram. We gave (it) with the knowledge of Eranadu and Valluvanadu. We gave for the time that the moon and the sun shall exist. The handwriting of Seraman-loka-pperun-dattan Nambi Sadeyan, who wrote (this) copper-plate with the knowledge of these (witnesses).

Mr. Venkayya places this Syrian grant centuries later than Dr. Burnell on palæographic grounds, and in view of the work done by the epigraphical department of the Government since Dr. Burnell's time, Mr. Venkayya's authority is much greater The Vira Kerala mentioned as his ancestor by the grantor is identified by Mr. Venkayya with Vira-Keralavarman whose son ascended the throne about 1300 A.D., and astronomical calculations make the date given in the grant, 1320 A.D. just as well as 774 A.D., which was the date accepted by Dr. Burnell. Facsimiles of both the Jewish and the Syrian inscriptions will be found in Epigraphia Indica. Dr. Gundert's translation of the five-plate Syrian grant a lengthy document which refers both to Anjuvannan and Manigramam and bears no date, will be found in Logan's Malabar, appendix XII ; transcript with Dr. Gundert's translation in Madras Journal of Literature and Science, volume XIII.

[1] This date (379 A.D.) does not appear on the plates. Dr. Burnell placed them in the 8th century, because (1) he considered that the Syrian five-plate grant presupposed its existence and he had placed that in the 9th century, (2) because the Grantha letters in it show it could not be older than the 8th century (Ind. Ant., III, 334). But Mr. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India, now places the one-plate grant in the 14th century A.D. (Ep. Ind., IV, 293). He informs me that the Vatteluttu character in which the Jewish plates is written is very late Vatteluttu. He would hesitate to assign any particular century, but would say that they might belong to the 11th or 12th century.

[2] *Payeng :* The Dutch Translator uses the word with which the Dutch were familiar in Java, *Payong*, Malay sun-shade of honour. The different classes of native officials use different kinds of sun-shades according to their rank (Enc. Van Nederl—Indie, article *Onderscheidingen*).

sun-shades, large bent trumpets, drums, staff and covered seats. We give him charge over the 72 families with their temples, which are found both here and elsewhere, and we renounce our rights to all taxes and duties on both houses. He shall be allowed to use house and hearth everywhere. All these privileges and prerogatives explained in this patent we grant to Joseph Rabaan, Head of the five clans, and to his heirs, sons, daughters, his children's children, the sons-in-law married to the daughters together with their descendants, as long as the sun and moon shall shine, and we grant him also all power over the five clans as long as the names of their descendants endure."

"Witnesses hereof are the Head of the country of Venaddo, named Comaraten Matandden, the Head of the country of Venaa-odea, named Codei Chericandan, the Head of the country of Erala, named Mana Bepalaman, the Head of the country Valanaddo, named Travaren Cheten, the Head of the country Nedduvalur, named Codei Travi besides the first of the lesser rulers of territories of the part of Cusapaddy Pavagan, namely, the heir of Murkom Chaten, named Kelokandan; written by the Secretary named Gunavendda Vanasen Nair Kisappa Kelapa, signed by the Emperor."

The third translation runs as follows :—

"In the name of the Most High God, who created the whole world after His own pleasure and maintains justice and righteousness, I, Ervij Barmen, raise my hands, and thank His Majesty for His grace and blessing bestowed on my reign and towns. In the 36th year of my reign in Cranganore in the fortress of Muricotta, I have granted for good reasons to my minister Joseph Rabaan the following privileges: to wear five coloured cloths, long dresses and hang on the shoulders certain cloths, to raise a cheer together, to make use of drums and tambourines, burn lights during the day, spread cloths on the roads, use palanquins, parasols and trumpets, trumpet torches, burning torches, sit under a throne and act as *head of all the other Jews numbering seventy-two houses*, who will have to pay him the tolls and taxes of the country, no matter in what part of the country they are living. These privileges I gave to Joseph Rabaan and his descendants, be they males or females, as long as any one of them is in the world, and the sun and moon shine on the earth, wherefore I have had the same engraved on a copper-plate, as an everlasting remembrance."

"Witnesses the kings of Travancore, Berkenkore, Zammorin, Arangolla, "Palcatcherry, Collastry and Corambenaddo; written by the Secretary Kallappen."

"The aforesaid copper-plate is written in the old broken Northern Tamil "language, but with different kinds of characters, *viz.*, Sanskrit and Tamil, and is "now read and translated by a heathen scholar named Callutil Atsja, who was born in "Calicut and who fled from that place with the war, and at present lives in the "highlands."

When these three translations are compared with one another, it will be observed at once that in the first these privileges are granted to the Jew Joseph Rabaan and to the 72 Jewish families, whereas in the second no trace will be found of the word "Jew"; in the third Joseph Rabaan is not called a Jew but the minister of the king, although he may be taken for a Jew from what follows in the translation; for he is there appointed as head of all the other Jews to the number of 72 houses. It is also certain that the name Rabaan is not exclusively Jewish. Further, the first and last translations grant the privileges not only to Joseph Rabaan, but also to the 72 Jewish families, while according to the second translation in the same are given only to Joseph Rabaan, his family and offspring. Nor does the second translation know anything of the privilege granted and the permission to spread the Jewish religion amongst the five castes. Thus it is obvious that these three translations do not agree, but that the first and third agree more with each other than with the second; that for this reason the first and last deserve rather more credit than the second, which stands alone; but that even so we have not got real proof from the plates of what the plates should prove, and as I am not acquainted with the Malabar language, I prefer to suspend judgment, since I have been unable hitherto to find either among the Malabaris or Canarese, among the learned priests and natives, anyone who had sufficient knowledge to translate this old writing for the fourth time, though I sent a copy of the inscription to the north and south of Cochin to have it deciphered.

The witnesses present at the granting of the patent also differ. The first and third translations however seem to agree in this point also more with each other than with the second. The discrepancy of the second translation lies in this: that, in it, the personal names of the witnesses are not given, but only the offices or dignities they held at the time; the mistake in the first and third translations consists herein: that the witnesses are called kings, and that of certain places by names by which these places were called some time after when circumstances had changed and by which they are now known. The second translation however calls them merely "Heads" of the countries as they were called at the time of the Emperor, when these "Heads" were no kings yet; for these "Heads" bore the title of kings and princes only after the well-known division of the Malabar Empire into four chief kingdoms, and several smaller kingdoms and principalities. The head of the country of Cochin, however, is not mentioned by that name in the first and third translations, although the kingdom of Cochin is really one of the four chief kingdoms of Malabar. This elucidation I here add in order that one should not wonder, when reading this patent, at inferior heads of countries and districts of the Malabar Empire being called kings. The empire being at that time not yet divided, they were as yet no kings: so that this seems to have been a liberty which the translators of the first and third translations took, and which is shown up by the second translation.[1]

The other passages of this charter, especially the authority over the five castes, must be explained from the antiquities, customs and habits of the people of Malabar, and need not be remarked on here. Whether this charter was really granted to the Jews or not, it is certain that at no time has a Jew had extensive authority over his co-religionists, and still less over the so-called five castes. Moreover the possessions of the Jews have never been free from taxes, though the kings to whom they were subject generally appointed heads of the Jews from among men of their own nationality under the name of Modiliars (Mudaliars), who had no other authority than to dispose of small civil disputes and to impose small fines.

There is however a peculiarity which deserves to be mentioned here, namely, that although some privileges are granted in this patent which have also been given to other people, no one else has ever been permitted to fire three salutes at the break of day, or on the marriage days of any one, who entered upon the marriage state, without a previous request and a special permission; this being a privilege which, to the present day, the kings of Cochin reserve to themselves. Yet even now it is allowed to the Jews as a permanent privilege and without previous application; and it is well known that the native princes do not lightly allow others to share in outward distinctions which they reserve for themselves; so that if the Jews had arrogated this privilege to themselves without high authority, the kings of Cochin would put a stop to the use of it by this nation, whose quarter or settlement adjoins the Cochin palace; but as things are they dare not.

This particularity therefore is no small argument for the authority of the above-mentioned patent in favour of the Jews; for it is well known that all the laws and dispositions made by the Malabar Emperors are held in the highest respect by the Malabar princes to this day.

It was formerly believed that the Jews here possessed in earlier times the kingdom of Cranganore and even had their own king, but not the least trace of this is to be found. In truth, since the republic of the Jews came to an end, and the power of making laws was taken away from them, there is no evidence to show that they ever got it again, however often they may have tried. Being formerly very influential in the kingdom of Cranganore, they may possibly have tried to get possession of this kingdom, but I would rather believe that the supposition that they once possessed the kingdom of Cranganore has no other foundation than something of the kind which is found in the antiquities of the St. Thomas' Christians, namely, that they were once upon a time anxious to have a king and even obtained one;

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[1] Moens assumes the truth of the very dubious legend of an original Emperor of Malabar who divided his empire into four kingdoms, Travancore, Cochin, Calicut and Collastry. As far as I know, there is no reason whatever to believe a word of this legend. The grant was probably made by a king of some Chola, Hoysala or Pandya dynasty, at present obscure, of which epigraphical research will, it may be hoped, tell us something more in course of time.

just as another anecdote regarding the privileges of the Jews has been mixed up with a supposed privilege of the St. Thomas' Christians, as pointed out above in the chapter about the St. Thomas' Christians.

The Jews on this coast must be distinguished into White and Black Jews. Among the first must be counted a few foreigners from Europe, from the Turkish Asiatic provinces, from Arabia and Persia, who have become related to the original Jewish inhabitants by marriage; so the well-known family of the late Company's merchant, Ezechiel Rabbi, descends from the Jew Ezechiel Rabbi, who arrived here from Haleb in Syria in the year 1646. But as to the Black Jews, whose colour is almost the same as that of the Malabar lower castes, they can only have originated from the associates of the Jews, taken by them both from the free people of Malabar and from their freed slaves. However it can no way be denied that many originated from admixture with the natives, although the colour of the child of a white father and a black Malabar mother differs considerably even after many generations from that of real Black Indians. The number of the Black Jews is also much larger than that of the White.[1]

When the first Jews arrived here, they settled down at Cranganore, Palur, Maday and Paluttu but specially at Cranganore, the residence of the Malabar chief princes. This town was formerly called Moydiricotta, also Mahodere Pattanam and Chingali. They always found protection under the Malabar kings, and comfortable means of subsistence, till the arrival of the Portuguese on this coast.

This nation was no friend of the Jews and compelled many of them by contemptuous treatment and arbitrary taxes, but specially by their religious intolerance, to leave Cranganore, and to beseech the protection of the king of Cochin. This king granted to them a piece of ground at Cochin de Sima [North Cochin], next or near his own palace, where they built their synagogues and houses, and live to the present day, as also a special burial-ground, a little outside their quarter.

But here, too, they were so much restricted in their trade and oppressed by the Portuguese of Cochin that most of the families, until the end of the year 1663, lived in straitened circumstances.

This is the time of the arrival of the Dutch on this coast.

When Mynheer van Goens was besieging Cochin, the Jews were very prompt in furnishing troops of the Dutch Company with victuals, and all other assistance, hoping that they would enjoy under this Company the greatest civil and religious liberty. But when our troops were compelled, before the end of the good monsoon, to leave this coast without having been able to take Cochin, the Portuguese did not fail to make the Jews feel the terrible consequences of their revenge. For no sooner had the Dutch retreated than a detachment of soldiers was sent to the Jewish quarter, and pillaged it and set it on fire. The inhabitants then fled to the highlands, and only returned after Cochin was taken by the Dutch.

The Jews, who still assert that the Malabar Israelites had had an old copy of the Sepher Thora [Books of the Law], say that this copy and all other documents got lost on the occasion when the Portuguese destroyed the Jewish quarter, but with little verisimilitude, for when they found time, according to their own account, to save their valuables and take them with them to the mountains, they would not have failed to secure these documents also, which were to them of inestimable value. Moreover it is related that they had so much respect and care for the new copy of the Pentateuch, which at the time was in their synagogue, that they even secured this copy, and took it along and brought it back rejoicing, as of old the ark of the covenant.

In the said Jewish quarter, next to the palace of the king of Cochin, at Cochin de Sima, there are four synagogues, *viz.*, one for the White Jews, and the other three for the Black Jews.

The latter have readers of their own tribe, who hold the services, but when a White Rabbi comes to their synagogue, the honour of conducting the service must be given to him.

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[1] The numbers according to the last Census (1901) are: White Jews, 180; Black Jews, 957.

Circumcision is not performed in the synagogue, but in the house of the father of the child. It is performed by one of the assembled friends who volunteers to do it.

The Sepher Thora, or books of Moses, which are found here in the various synagogues, are all modern manuscripts on parchment and ordinary brown leather, and there is nothing to show that there was ever a copy here of any considerable antiquity of a part or of the whole of the Old Testament.

The Jews here have never had printing presses, but the Hebrew Bible editions of the Jewish book-sellers Athias and Proops are most valued and used.

We have, therefore, no hope of finding material in these places, which could throw light on the Hebrew Text of the Bible. It must also be acknowledged that the original Malabar Jews in general are ignorant and careless in matters of religion. They know neither the Talmud, nor the Kabala, nor the books of the Masoreths, and so may be classed under the Karaim, or Karaites, like most of the Asiatic Jews.

The Jewish nation has settled chiefly in seven places in this country. In the Jewish quarters next to the palace of the King of Cochin live about 150 families. At Anjecaimal [Ernaculam] they possess a little over 100 houses and two synagogues. At Paru [Parur] are nearly 100 houses and one synagogue; at Chenotta [Chennamangalam] 50 families and one synagogue. On the island of Territur, belonging to the family of the well-known Ezechiel Rabbi, live ten families and there is also a synagogue there. At Muton [Madatankil] there are about twelve families and one synagogue.

Most of these Jews trade, more or less, and live by that. Among the wealthiest and most distinguished merchants, the family of Ezechiel Rabbi may be specially mentioned. One does not notice in these Jews that acuteness, activity and still less, that cheating, which is usually ascribed to the Jews of our times. On the contrary I have usually found them to be honest men who would feel ashamed to cheat a Christian, a heathen or a Moor purposely. It may also be said of them that they are not by far so dirty and slovenly as also are, by common imputation, the Jews of our day; who, generally speaking, are not only attended by the vermin, which is the usual company of beggars, but are most unclean in their houses and their bodies and clothes, while some even have an unpleasant smell; and although it may happen that some of the richest, who associate with distinguished people, are cleaner than the common Jews, yet there are always to be found some in whom the Jew is prominent. But the Jews here, without distinction down to the lowest and poorest, are as clean in their houses and their bodies, their table and their bed, as we; so that you could hardly tell that they are Jews or Jewesses, if they were not recognizable through being distinguished from other nations by a peculiar sort of dress and physical peculiarities.

The majority of the Black Jews apply themselves to agriculture and cattle-rearing as also to selling and buying victuals, especially butter and poultry. They are treated by the White Jews with coldness and contempt, because, being stronger numerically than the Whites, they, according to tradition, rose more than once against them in former times and even had the boldness to use so much violence that the ruler of the country had to interpose his authority and protect the Whites.

As far as I have been able to discover these differences were usually caused by the Black Jews constantly pressing for special equality with the White Jews. The latter would not allow this, because they did not look upon the Black Jews as original Jews, but considered the majority of them to be either the issue of their released slaves, or of natives of Malabar, who had been made proselytes. It is related that the Black Jews always wanted to mix with the Whites by intermarrying; also that instead of behaving humbly towards the Whites, they laid themselves out to be discourteous in greetings and salutations in the street; also that they were so bold as to take the first places in the synagogues, at public meetings, and on other occasions; so that they always aimed, if not at superiority, at least at equality, a characteristic which as a rule (*four pages*, 361–364 *of the MS. are here missing*).

III.—The Moors (Muhammedans).

The Moors too have been settled here a long time ; at any rate it is known that the Arabs began to come here for trade, and to spread the Muhammedan religion in India, so far back as the eighth century, and that the Portuguese, when they arrived on this coast in the year 1498, found many Muhammedan temples. I have taken the trouble to find out from old Malabar traditions, as far as possible, the first traces and some particulars of the Malabar Moors or Muhammedans, in so far as they differ from others ; but I could discover nothing much about them.

It is, however, an old tradition among the Malabar Moors that the last of the Malabar Emperors, the famous Cherumperumal had so great a respect for the Muhammedan religion that he not only is supposed to have embraced it and tried to spread it among his subjects, but even went in the eighth century to Mecca in order to end his days there, and from there sent letters to the Malabar rulers requiring them to favour the Muhammedan priests in everything.

Since the last Cherumperumal lived about the year 800, this tradition might be well founded, at least so far as the date is concerned. One might also accept the later tradition which the Malabar Muhammedans generally hold, *viz.*, that about the year 600 a Muhammedan merchant named Malek Medina arrived on this coast from Mecca accompanied by some priests of his religion, and settled down in the neighbourhood of Mangalore, and that he was the first to make known his religion in India, and that no obstacles were thrown in his way by the Emperor of that day but that on the contrary he enjoyed many favours and kindnesses, and that his descendants also were treated with favour by the succeeding emperors.

However I must remark here that all the Malabar heathens flatly deny the journey of Cherumperumal to Mecca, and maintain on the contrary that he died a heathen in a religious and solitary state of life in the famous pagoda of Cranganore. Yet they do not deny that Cherumperumal was ever unfavourable to the spread and propagation of the Muhammedan religion and so it is probable that this last Cherumperumal, who did many works of charity and showed favour to many, also favoured the Muhammedans to a greater extent than his predecessors and openly allowed them to propagate their religion on this coast, and that they obtained leave to settle down and to practise their religion first from the former emperors and afterwards, particularly, from the above-mentioned last emperor. Since that time they have multiplied and increased so much in number that at present there is hardly a place in the whole of Malabar in which Moors are not found, especially along the sea coast, and generally engaged in trade. But the greatest number of Moors are found in the kingdom of the Zamorin, where they swarm, and where they have generally had a finger in the Government, as the Portuguese soon found when they first came to Calicut, and not being able for this reason to establish themselves, sought out the king of Cochin.

The Muhammedans of Hindustan are divided into four sects, which are called Saphy [Shafites], Anaphy [Hanafites], Malek [Malekites] and Ambeli [Hanbalites] of which the two first are chiefly to be found on this coast. These sects are called thus after the names of four teachers, who are supposed to have preached the Muhammedan religion in Hindustan.

The difference between the two first sects consists only in the manner of folding their hands when they are praying. The Saphies place their folded hands on the *upper part*, and the Anaphi on the *lower part* of the stomach.

The Saphies are again divided into five classes and are the following :—

1. Nalilonnu, or of four, one.
2. Naalpodilannu, or of forty, one.
3. Mupattu oinbodu, or the thirty-ninth.
4. Munuru, or the three hundredth.
5. Onnukorre ayrom, or one less than a thousand.

This distinction concerns more the civil rank in society than religion.

It is obvious that this distinction is derived from the castes or clans of the Indians, who are so much attached to these prejudices that they cannot part with them entirely even when they change their religion.

IV.—The Heathens.

The fourth or last kind of foreigners here, *viz.*, the heathens, are sub-divided into Northern and Southern, or those who have come from the north and those who have come from the south.

Those, who have come from the north, are divided into four clans, *viz.*, Pandits [Tamil or Telugu Brahmins learned in some branch of Sanskrit learning], Canarins [Konkanis], Benyans [Banias] and Silversmiths. These four clans lived formerly in the north between Goa and Bombay, but each in a separate district. Having been expelled from there by the Moors or the Mogol's people, they descended to Goa and came here first with the Portuguese and remained here afterwards.

The *Pandits* say that the district, which they formerly inhabited in the north, was called Carrady, and know nothing more of their origin and other particulars, than that they belong to a high caste but are few in number, and have been gradually dwindling down for many years, so that there are now only 25 Pandits to be found in Malabar. They do not trade and practise no handicraft, but act as priests to the other three clans, especially to the silversmiths, because these have no priest of their own. Some of these Pandits set themselves up as native physicians or doctors, and are fairly well skilled in native medicine.

The Canarins, also a clan by themselves from the north, came originally, according to their account, from a district by the name of Sasta Vardes [1], which territory was formerly divided into twelve small provinces.

They assert that the above-mentioned district also bore the name of Ikeris (the Ikkeri or Bednore kingdom), from which the pagoda of Ikeris a gold coin which passes in trade for four silver rupees here and everywhere further in the north received its name. This gold coin is usually called also the Mangalore pagoda. Besides this, they have no record at all of the history of their country or other events which happened in former times among them.

They admit however that although they are called Canarins, they are not called after the kingdom of Canara since they never had any connection with the inhabitants of Canara, who are properly called Canarese and not Canarins.

They get their living chiefly by trade; for most of them are traders. But there are also many who apply themselves to agriculture, in which they are assisted by the Corombins [2], the lowest of the clans or castes of the Canarins, who cultivate their fields and gardens for them. Some of the trading Canarins are prominent wholesale merchants trading with foreign nations, others native traders; others are retailers, and supply everything domestic except livestock. For this purpose, they have their stalls or little shops underneath the houses in the town, which they rent from the residents. For the use of these stalls they have, besides the rent, to pay certain taxes annually to the poor-house. They keep in stock all kinds of fruit, vegetables, flowers, betel leaves, areca, rice, cloths, and Chinese goods and articles, which they have exchanged with the Macao [Portuguese town in China] traders for other goods or bought from them. Some of these people carrying packs of these articles walk daily about the town, and offer them for sale to the inhabitants and sailors, like the common Jews in Holland, and the Moors in Ceylon. Others again are money-changers, who exchange small coins, such as fanams, doits and *bazarooks* for more valuable coins, such as rupees, pagodas and ducats [3], at a certain rate of exchange. One of them is the Company's Saraf [Anglo-Indian Shroff, from Arabic], *i.e.*, money-changer or one who counts money. He counts the money, which comes into the Company's treasury, weighs, examines and seals it, and is held responsible for the genuineness, and also for the amount of the coins. Briefly, there is hardly one of them who does not apply himself to some kind of trade, and children six and seven years old are trained to trade. Experience teaches that in general they have very little honesty in their dealings, and will make a fool of you, if they see a chance, especially by palming off old and spoilt clothes for fresh and new. They are very clever people and can adapt

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[1] Sarasvati, the name of a river in Sanskrit works. The "Canarins" are the Konkani Sarasvat Brahmins and Kudumi Chetties still to be found in Travancore and Cochin.

[2] Apparently Moens' way of writing Kudumi or Kudumbi, the name of a Konkani Sudra caste, which still serves the Konkani Brahmins.

[3] For these coins see page 41 above.

themselves to anything. Some of them manage even to make their way into the courts of princes, and if one is not too closefisted, one can get to know things through them. There have been Canarins here, who have played a remarkable part, even in politics. In my time I have had in my employ a certain Callaga Porbu, whom I have been compelled to send with his son to the Cape, as may be seen in my special letter forwarded to Batavia and dated 1st January 1775. The present agent of the king of Travancore, who resides here always on behalf of the king, is also a Canarin.

Although Canarins are to be found everywhere along this coast, their principal quarter about here is a half-hour's walk outside the town, where their bazaar is and they also have their stalls. Their quarter is divided into several wards according to the different castes, people of the same caste living together.

For the rest the Canarins enjoy the protection of the Company, and are subject to its jurisdiction. The king of Cochin, however, claims them as his subjects, because they live in his territory, and so it often happens that they go to His Highness for the settling of their disputes and abide by his decisions. In this connection, I refer to what I have written about these Canarins in the chapter dealing with the king of Cochin [page 123 above].

The Benyans.

The Benyans [*Vanya*, Anglo-Indian *bania* or *bunya*] are also a particular caste or clan and are also called Pannecur or Vannians. They too trade in all kinds of things which have no life.

They know no particulars at all about themselves. All they know is that their former country was called Coddiale.

The word Benyan means merchant, and as a matter of fact the Benyans are all merchants. There are few poor people among them. Most of them get their living by trade, great or small. Some are even wholesale merchants, and there are now two Benyans, who are merchants of the Company. One of these two named Anta Chetty, a bold, but careful and knowledgeable merchant, is the contractor for the import and export duties. They live in a separate quarter next to the Canarins outside the town.

They are under the protection of the Company and the king of Cochin has no anthority whatever over them.

We may add in praise of these Benyans that they are, as a rule, of good conduct, neat in their dress, and that their word may be fairly well relied on.

Silversmiths.

The silversmiths, who also constitute a separate caste, are otherwise called Sonar. The country from which they originally came is called Sastripredesom[1]. They, like the Benyans, are under the protection of the Company and live next the Benyan quarter.

Some of them are so skilful in their handicraft that they are able to imitate European articles, be they large or small, fairly well. The only thing which they cannot copy after European models is making hinges. Moreover they are, taking them all round, great hands at cheating by reducing and alloying the gold and silver, which you have to provide, as they are too poor to supply gold and silver themselves. It is dangerous to entrust anything to the silversmiths for work in their houses. They not only alloy the precious metal but sometimes even pawn the gold and silver, or otherwise make away with it or even abscond outright. This brings them into suspicion and contempt. Their cheating may to a great extent be put down to their notorious poverty; for they work for scanty wages, and have to support wife and children; but also to their not being able to take up anything else because they are absolutely compelled to stick to the trade, as is the case with other heathen castes; so that the more the number of silversmiths increases, the more difficult it becomes for them to make a living. They are not paid according to the value of the work or according to coarse or fine work as in Europe, but only according to the weight of the metal which they work into shape. For the rest their outfit is compendious and simple. A silversmith can always carry all his outfit, down to his bellows, with him wherever he goes.

[1] The present Sonars of the South Canara district are Konkanis.

I have placed the Benyans before the silversmiths, although the silversmiths wear the sacred thread as well as the Canarins and Benyans, and so pretend to be of as high caste as the Benyan caste. But however much the silversmiths may approach the Canarins, they must be placed below the Benyans because being working men and handicraftsmen, they cannot command the same respect as merchants among the natives [1].

The southern foreigners, or those who come from the south have not lived long here, and belong only to two different castes, viz., dyers and shoe-makers.

Dyers.

The dyers or cloth-painters, who live here, arrived in Malabar about 100 years ago from Coilpatnam close to Tuticorin At that time a certain Canarin merchant, named Babu Porbu, sent for a dyer from Coilpatnam, who thereupon came with his whole family, and was also engaged by the Company, as Beam-master. This service has not long been abolished and consisted in the calculation of the solid contents of beams, which were bought here on behalf of the Company according to a native method by candies, borels, tommerons and cobidos. It was a clumsy system of calculation, about which more light may be obtained from a letter written from here to the Netherlands, dated 31st January 1691 [2], in which also a geometrical figure thereof is shown. I have abolished this system of mensuration, and adopted the system for measuring wood used at home, *viz.*, by length, breadth and thickness in feet and inches, as resolved on the 15th January 1772. This first Beam-master was by trade also a cloth-painter, and exercised that craft too.

In the time of the late Mynheer Van Gollenesse, who was the Commandeur here from the year 1734 to 1743, chintz dye-works were started on account of the Company, and a few dyers were obtained from Coromandel. But these dye-works were worked only for a short time ; for it was found that they did not come up to expectations ; and so they were abandoned from the year 1744. Owing to this some of these men returned to their country, and others, who stayed here with those who had already come long before from Coilpatnam, received from the Company a plot of ground, a little outside this town, where they built houses, laid out gardens and settled down. Hitherto these people have been under the protection of the Company. But as their quarter is within a firelock's range from the town, and almost under Point Utrecht, I had the quarter demolished, the trees cut down and the ground levelled at the last invasion of Nabob Hyder Alyckan, and gave the dyers another plot of ground at the extreme end of the plain near the Company's garden, where they live at present quite comfortably, and are as well satisfied with it as with their former site.

Their work is coarse and fit only for natives ; for they mostly paint body and head cloths such as are worn by the natives. However they paint many other things for the community here for daily use, and are especially clever in dyeing linen black, which is of great convenience to the community when in mourning.

As a rule the women do not work except just a few who learn the trade, and work together with the men. The men also take up employment as clerks or canacapels (Tamil *Kanakkapillai*) with the Jewish, Canarin and Benyan merchants, and also with Europeans ; for they are accurate in their accounts and quick and dependable in computing. They number at present 141 souls in 23 families.

Shoemakers.

The shoemakers came here from Tuticorin during the time of the late Mynheer Jacob de Jong, who was Commandeur here from 1723 to 1732. They also obtained a plot of ground outside the town, where they built their houses and now live, and applied themselves to their handicraft. They stand under the protection of the Company only.

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[1] The Malayalam Kammalars or artisans do not wear the thread and pollute even the Sudra Nairs by approaching within 12 feet of them. These imported artisans wear the thread and ape Brahmin customs generally and have pretensions ; but of course, as Moens says, rank below merchants (3rd caste), being Sudras (4th caste) at most.

[2] The letter to the Netherlands referred to is now missing from the records. For these measures see note on page 77 above. The *borel* (*viral*, finger, inch) referred to is a cubic measure of which 576 went to the *candy*, 144 to the *tommeron* and 24 to the *cobido* (*covada*, *tiwada*). The candy is a cube *kole* of 24 linear *virals* or 28¼ English inches.

They number at present 71 souls in 16 families. Among them there are some who have turned Christian and others who have turned Moor here. The shoes they make are clumsy and badly stitched. They are not waterproof and fall far short in finish of those made at Tuticorin. The price of them, however, is two-thirds less than that of the ordinary shoes made here by Europeans and Topasses. They only work for poor people, who patronize them for their cheapness. They are very poor people and bear their poverty patiently. They are happy enough because they are passably content with their station in life.

We have now described the princes and kingdoms, and also the inhabitants of this country, and come to the possessions of the Company.

CHAPTER X.

POSSESSIONS OF THE COMPANY.

The possessions of the Company on this coast consist of forts, the buildings within them, and lands either taken from the Portuguese, or conquered since. To the last class belong the fortress of Chettua (Chetway) which we built ourselves, and province Paponetty (Pappinivattam) which we afterwards conquered from the Zamorin, together with a protectorate over two stretches of land to the north and south of Paponetty, called the lands of Payenchery Nair and of the king of Cranganore, which, however, were all again taken from us, at the close of the year 1776, by Nabob Hyder Alyckan on the plea that he was suzerain of the Zamorin.

In this connection I refer to that which has been said in the passages dealing with Payenchery Nair and the king of Cranganore; and also to the secret resolution and letter written to Batavia on the 5th and 7th March 1777.

I.—Fortresses.

The possessions, which we conquered from the Portuguese, are those we still possess with the exception of the fortress of Cannanore, which the Company ceded in the year 1771 to the Moor chief, Ady Raja. The reason why and how it was done may be gathered from special letters to Batavia, dated 15th March 1770 and 30th March 1771, and also from a special letter from Batavia, dated 3rd August 1773, to which I here refer [1].

We still possess therefore the following fortresses: the town of Cochin and the forts of Coilan and Cranganore, which, and especially Cochin and Cranganore, are very strong. When I came here the town was in a very bad condition. There was no covered way nor glacis. The ditch was almost dry, and was full of little islands at low water, since it is supplied with water from the river, which is tidal. The boys played in it, and caught crabs, and at high water it was only knee-deep. A part of the town lay absolutely bare and without a ditch; no merlons were to be seen on the walls. The breast-works were only works protecting a man not further than the waist, and so also there were no banquettes. The wheels of the gun-carriages rose above the so-called breast-works so that the enemy had only to shoot the wheels to pieces to silence our guns. In two places the town was very weak; for the two faces of the two principal points lying next to one another, named Gelderland and Holland, just where there was no ditch, were uncovered. The gun-carriages on the walls were so bad through neglect and for want of tar that when salutes were fired from the walls various carriages broke and the guns dropped to the ground. So I clearly explained the defects of the town, and the necessity for improvements, obtained sanction to these improvements, and meanwhile set to work at once, and got everything right just before Nabob Hyder Alyckan's invasion. The town was then provided all round with a proper ditch, with a covered way and also with a glacis; the weak points of the town had been properly strengthened, the bastions and curtains raised to a proper height, parapets built everywhere, new gun-carriages supplied and cased, besides a fair number in reserve, as may be seen more in detail in the successive special letters sent in my time to Batavia.

Cranganore.

Cranganore is a small fort, but exceedingly strong. The Nabob knocked his head against it, and it was here his march was checked. If this small fortress had not been there, and the hook (promontory) of Aykotta had not been fortified—since they are the only two places outside the lines of defence of Travancore, where a passage is possible—the Nabob would have broken through for good: and the utility of this little fort was clearly proved. It has since been made considerably stronger. It is at present provided with a *fausse braye* which however was not new, but had either subsided or slipped into the fosse in most places, but has been now repaired wherever it was necessary. For there was no time to construct a new one, besides

[1] It had ceased to be a profitable post owing to competition and the Dutch were afraid of Hyder Ali, who had occupied the neighbouring territory, attacking it.

it would have cost too much money. Further Cranganore has now a broad and newly excavated fosse and a covered way with even a sort of second covered way a little further down and a little lower than the first. This fort lies in a cleft with the river left and right behind it, and so it cannot be out-flanked, but only attacked in front. The enemy cannot get within ordinary cannon-shot range or they would be exposed to our fire, because a very large pit, or rather dried-up creek, which lay not far from the fort, has been filled up. For the rest I refer to what is noted on this subject in special letters, dated 24th April 1778 and 25th April 1779, and also to the secret instructions, which I have handed over to the Chief and Commandant, and are dated 14th August of last year.

Quilon.

Coilan situated to the south, in the territory of Travancore, is not so strong; however it would give an enemy a good deal of trouble. It could not be attacked from behind, because it lies by the sea, which is there so full of dangerous rocks that it would be very hard to effect a landing; so it can only be attacked by land. More is to be found regarding this fortress in my special letters to Batavia, dated 1st May 1772, 25th March 1773 and 28th March 1774; also in a general letter, dated 2nd January 1778; to which letters I refer.

Cochin.

Although, as far as I know, there is nothing more wanting now in the fortifications of Cochin and Cranganore, it is of the greatest importance to have eye and hand directed to them continually in order that they may not fall into disrepair again in course of time. I am even of opinion that it would be a good thing to give the repairs of the fortifications on contract to the lowest bidder. The report of the condition of the forts, which is to be found among the appendices of this book under No. 4, could be taken as the basis of maintenance, viz., that every thing should be maintained in the condition recorded in the report. The contract, it seems to me, should be given only on such conditions as are noted in Appendix No. 5.

And since the newly-made covered way, if it is not looked after, will soon be spoilt again, in the good monsoon (season) through great drought, since grass then withers and sand continually rolls down from the glacis, which sand may even fall from the covered way into the ditch; and since in the bad monsoon this damage may be done even more easily to the glacis, the covered way and the ditch through the heavy rains, as the result of which the ditch would then gradually get filled up again and the covered way again lose its utility, and great cost would be incurred to put all this right again; we have already provided for the maintenance of the covered way and whatever else is connected with it, by contract, according to a resolution of the 17th February of last year.

As regards to the manner in which the above-mentioned fortifications should be defended in case of need according to my humble opinion, I refer to my special letter to Batavia, dated 25th April 1779, written with special advertence to this subject.

Bastion Stroomburg.

Before I leave fortifications, I must say something about Point Stroomburg, which used annually to have its special place in the general description of this factory, because just under this point—being situated on the side of the river—there is such a strong whirlpool that in the year 1761/2 the wall fell in endways, and since then has been continually in danger of falling in again So the spot underneath this point has constantly to be strengthened with palisades and other works. Since the collapse the bastion has cost, excluding 6,097 guilders for the repair of the part which had fallen in, to the tune of 7,510 guilders from 1761/2 to 1770/1, or, on an average, 834 guilders a year. Since then it has cost the Company nothing more. I refer in this connection to what has been written to Batavia about it in the general letters of the 25th March and 28th March of the years 1773 and 1774, respectively, from which it will be seen among other things that we have now constructed a solid foreshore which is kept in a good condition by simple means which cost the Company nothing; not by laying down live oysters, which was found useless, nor by sinking old vessels loaded with stones which was once or twice tried in vain, and so should not be tried

again in future; for such a sunken vessel was presently knocked to pieces by the strong whirlpool, so that in a short time the pieces and fragments could be seen lying cast up ashore outside the river (backwater), and the stones meanwhile had got into a wrong depth without serving the purpose of forming a foreshore. Finally it was found best to lay down free or blue freestone, the removal and carriage of which was very expensive, from ruined heathen temples, and this led me to think of first making a kind of fence or palisade which only cost 408 guilders, and then of causing the permanent coolies of the Equipagie wharf [1] each to take to Stroomburg at noon and in the evening, before they go home a load of stones from old broken-up works and to throw them down there; which costs the Company nothing, and gradually makes a fine large foreshore. It is necessary to keep this going and to take care that there is always a supply of old stones in order that as soon the foreshore sinks a little to be able to fill it up immediately. As the residence of the Second is situated on the point and the residence of the Commandeur also lies not far off, the place can be inspected daily by them; it will give them little trouble to cast an eye every now and then in that direction. Besides the purser marine, whose work takes him daily to the river gate, and so is very near the place every day, has orders once for all to see to it, and to have the foreshore filled up by his people at the smallest sinking with the supply of stones lying there without making out a special bill for this work. It is only a trifle, but cannot be too much commended to attention. To have spent 7,510 guilders on it in nine years almost without any effect for want of attention to these small things, which cost nothing and have the required effect, seems to me argument enough to warrant mention of such trifles.

The Plain.

We have here to the south of the town a fairly large plain [military free zone] stretching out a little further than a long cannon shot.

This plain, however, was very uneven from the oldest times, everywhere full of pits and risings, in which and behind which the enemy could hide himself in many places without ever being seen from the walls. In a word this plain was in such a condition that you could not even cross it except by the footpaths, for more than once people have fallen into pits or ponds in the dark. It had to remain so for some time because the fortifications of the town gave us too much to do at first; but when the Nabob invaded our territory, the most dangerous risings and pits were at once levelled as far as possible. After that we went on for some time with this work and no more levelling would be necessary (since the plain is now fairly smooth), if the foreshore had not accreted so much in the meantime on this side of the plain between points Holland and Gelderland, and the accretion were not, as is the way with sandy accretions, full of ugly risings and channels, behind which, in more than one place, two or three hundred men could easily hide themselves. As I am of opinion that an enemy, who intended to attack this town, would do so from the south and from the shore, I always had these wretched places levelled, and have continued this to the present day. I think it should be continued for some time until the action of the sea on this side stops and is directed elsewhere, which may sometimes be seen happening suddenly. At present 25 coolies are engaged daily in this work. Each cooly receives 2 fanams, or 3 stivers, a day. This is not much in comparision with the great necessity of keeping level this uneven sandy accretion which grows daily. For I still remember how, when we wanted to relieve Chettua by sea, the troops of the Nabob lying in ambush behind the risings and depressions of that well-known great prominent sand-bank before Chettua, surrounded our detachment, and so caused the expedition to be almost a complete failure.

There is yet another thing which occurs to me in connection with the fortifications. The other side of the Island of Baypin (Vypeen) or rather the southern plot of ground on it which belongs to the Company, was in course of time planted with trees so closely set, and was even so built over with various buildings, that an enemy could comfortably lodge there, throw up batteries, and from these, if he had heavy guns, do much harm to our town. For this reason I have had all the trees and shrubs

[1] *I.e.*, the coolies employed on port work. The Equipagie-Muster was the port officer, or purser marine, as our own old records call him (see page 33 above).

cut and various buildings demolished. I have however given time to the inhabitants in respect of these last in order not to make it too inconvenient for them. So there are a few buildings here and there which have still to be demolished, and then we shall have a clear view to the other side of the river and a proper open plain.

II.—Buildings.

The buildings belonging to the Company are all in fairly good condition. It will be seen from the letters sent to Batavia since the year 1771 in what condition they were at that time, and what repairs have been made since. I could have wished, however, that these repairs had been made before my time, for then the Malabar ledgers before the invasion of the Nabob would have shone with the lustre of still smaller charges, and still greater profits. But the conviction of unavoidable and most urgent necessity compelled me to undertake these repairs. In what condition the buildings of the Company are at present appears from the report already cited on the fortifications, in which the present condition of the buildings is also stated, though it appears at the same time that while all the Company's buildings in this town are in good condition, there is a defect in the provision magazine, or more precisely in the floor of the grain warehouse, of which recently about a third part has subsided on account of the weight of rice lying on it. This loft was built so far back as the year 1736, and has usually had heavy loads to bear but can, notwithstanding the defect, still be made use of. For no sooner had the subsidence been discovered than, in order to prevent accidents and the giving way of the whole loft, all the rice that lay in it was at once removed by a large number of persons to different private buildings. It was then possible to lift the floor back with jack-screws, and prop it up with stays so that the loft can be used. I say, can be used, meaning for instance for storing gunny-bags, whip cord, empty barrels and similar light articles. If, however, rice should have to be stowed there again repairs would be necessary.

III.—Landed Property.

The lands of the Company taken together make up a considerable part of the possessions. They are however much scattered and it seems that, in former times, when we still held the balance of power between the native rulers, and laid down the law to practically every one, it was not thought that times could so change; and so it was not considered necessary to concentrate our landed property by taking something from other rulers of what lay nearest to us, and giving in return what lay near to them, but furthest from us, which could have easily been done in those days. As it is, our landed property lies scattered everywhere, both in Travancore and in Cochin territory. This constantly causes trouble between the inhabitants on both sides, and especially with the renters, who lease the said fields and gardens. We possess, *e.g.*, in front of the fortress of Cranganore, not more than a cannonshot's range of land; behind Cranganore in the river the islands of Mutucunu; to the right of Cranganore towards the east a small island.

At the northern and southern extremities of the island of Baypin (Vypeen) are two strips of land belonging to us, while the rest of Baypin belongs to the King of Cochin. To the east of this town, about as far as a cannon carries, lies the territory of the King of Cochin. To the south of the town also our territory does not stretch beyond cannon range. To the north and the west we are bounded by the river (backwater) and the sea respectively. The islands in the mouth of the river, of which Bendurti (Vandurti) is the largest, also belong to us, and formerly also belonged to the Portuguese. Further we have land in the middle of Travancore as far as Coilan (Quilon), in various pieces, scattered here and there. In this connection I refer to Appendix No. 6, where all the fields and gardens in our possession, and the situation of the same, are shown in detail; together there are nine islands and sixty-nine gardens and lands, under which is also comprised the "plain" from the Company's garden to Calvetty (Calvetty is the site on which our ship-timber wharf stands). On our landed property grow 42,089 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees; we have 4,507½ parras [1] of cultivated land and 19,716

[1] Parras of land were about 8 to the acre; see note on page 127 above. The tree-growing land is reckoned separately from the plough-land and the salt-pan land. The total rent of the land was Rs. 13,674 a year—see chapter XIV.

salt pans. So if our landed property was not so scattered and the whole of it was compact, it would be a fine bit of land. It seems to me that it should be seriously considered whether it would not be better to hand over to the King of Travancore the different pieces of ground in his territory to the south of Cochin and to ask in return for about as much land bordering on our territory; though as I think I know something of the nature of the Malabar rulers, and especially of the King of Travancore, I do not believe Travancore will part with a span of his territory. So if we want to get rid of these scattered gardens and fields and of the difficulties arising therefrom, there would be no other way but to sell them to Travancore for a sum about proportionate to the annual revenue we derive from it, and which could be calculated as interest. This is perhaps possible, because the native princes manage with their harsh administrative methods to get more revenue from gardens and fields than we. I cannot see why we should not prefer to accept a good sum of money for these lands for the benefit of the company rather than to draw an annual revenue which is now and then difficult to realise, especially as these revenues might sometime or other, as circumstances change, become uncertain[1].

About half way between this and Coilan (Quilon), at Porca (Purakad), the Company has a brick lodge and a pepper warehouse, where a book-keeper is stationed as an agent for the collection of pepper. But for the rest, we have no territory there of our own except a few paces round the warehouse and the lodge. About midway between Porea and Coilan inland—for Porea is situated on the sea—lies Calicoilan (Kayenculam), where also a book-keeper is stationed as agent and there is also a brick pepper-warehouse and a lodge of ours but also with only a few paces of land. Outside the fortress of Coilan we have nothing but a piece of ground, so small that it can be covered by a cannon-shot, and the occupiers of it have even to pay a poll-tax to the King of Travancore, just as the Paruas at Tuticorin pay it to the Arman[2].

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[1] The proposal to sell was approved by the Batavia Government (notes on Moens' Memoir in MS. No. 1146) and was carried out gradually by Moens' successor from 1785 to 1789 A.D. He always seems to have asked 33½ years purchase and usually to have succeeded in getting not much less. Travancore was the chief purchaser, Palyat Achan a smaller purchaser (MSS. Nos. 1299 and 1320).

[2] The *Paruas* are Paravas, a fishing-caste, converts of S. Francis Xavier. The *Arman* is Tamil *Aranmanai*, palace, *i.e.*, sovereign power; in this case the Nawab of the Carnatic is probably meant.

CHAPTER XI.

FORCES, MARINE AND MILITARY.

I.—Marine.

Our marine force here is inconsiderable; for we have only a two-masted and a one-masted sloop, and a quick-sailing native vessel, besides seven gamels and three little chouts, which are used for loading and discharging cargo and for fetching water daily from higher up the river for the garrison,[1] besides a row-boat for towing and for taking people to and from ships. Three of the gamels are equipped for war so that use can be made of them in the river. They are built in such a way that they can be changed for employment in a moment from war gamels into cargo gamels and from cargo gamels into war gamels. All that belongs to the equipment of the latter is made with pegs and holes and numbered, and so can be taken in and out quickly. The guns and their appurtenances are kept separate in the ammunition-store and ready to be placed on the gamels with some lines-men and gunners. We have here only a few European sailors so that we have to resort to natives to man our vessels and to work in the dock-yard.

As I am now speaking of our vessels and of loading and discharging cargo, I cannot refrain from noting in the same connection that good judgment in loading and unloading can contribute much, bar accidents, to quick work. When a vessel is quickly unloaded and loaded she can, if she has not, for one reason or another, to go to Ceylon, return quickly to Batavia, and immediately be made use of again. During my time this was usually done till we got into difficulties with the Nabob, since when we have been compelled to keep the vessels here until the end of the good monsoon (season) in order to guard the island of Baypin and to keep the roads safe for vessels which come here to trade. It is well known that quick despatch of vessels is of great importance to the Company, and it is for this reason that there is hardly anything on which more stress is laid and more continually than on not detaining vessels for a moment unnecessarily.

Besides the ordinary sea and land winds, we have ebbs and tides here. Our cargo-vessels are broad and can take in much cargo. They are strongly built, but are very clumsy, and can only sail before the wind, so that twelve men at least (for which coolies are used here) are required to row each gamel in order that the vessels may go outside with the help of the land breeze or ebb, and take in cargo before the sea-breeze or tide sets in. If attention is not paid to this the gamels are either unable to reach the vessels in time or, when they leave the vessels, are unable to enter the river, which means a loss of 24 hours each time.

And since we find the gamels going empty to the ships and the ships constantly having to take in something or other for which they sometimes wait till the last moment, and then special gamels must be sent again and more days are wasted, which forethought would have saved, it would be advisable to make enquiries, when the gamels are going empty and the ships beginning to get a little room, whether articles which may be required cannot be sent on board and put somewhere provisionally without interfering with the unloading. These may be thought superfluous remarks; for a knowledge of the tides, land and sea winds, and the proper use of cargo boats are the least qualifications which a seaman and a purser marine should have. I grant this, but experience has taught me that continual supervision is necessary, and since this is a subject of great importance, I have not shrunk from entering into these trifling particulars.

As a rule there arrives here from Ceylon at the end of the year a ship to fetch pepper, which brings along whatever we have indented for from Ceylon. This ship should be sent at the first opportunity to Porca and Calicoilan to take in pepper, and as soon as she has been loaded, she should be sent back direct to Ceylon, without coming back to these roads for papers. They used to come back formerly for this purpose; but this usage has been abolished, since the papers can be prepared here meanwhile and sent by land to Porca and Calicoilan; which again saves a few more days. We will now pass over to the military forces.

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[1] See page 87 above.

II.—*Military Forces.*

With regard to the military force, so necessary for the guarding of our possessions, I must state with heartfelt sorrow that it has been, as a rule, at least of recent years, in a very weak condition, and that though I have more than once commented on this in emphatic terms and have pointed out the dangers which it might easily bring upon us here, it has been quite impossible for the Supreme Government at Batavia to reinforce our garrison with any numbers worth mentioning as they are themselves short of men. So we have had to keep up the prestige of the Company among the native princes here more by dexterity than by our military system, and Nabob Hyder Alyckan would undoubtedly not have dared to attack us in such a hostile manner if, instead of being a powerful and enterprising conqueror, he had been only equal in strength with Travancore and Cochin. But however powerful and enterprising he may be thought, I am of opinion that if our military force had been more considerable and proportioned to our possessions, or, if only he had not been sure that we were in such a powerless situation here, he would not yet have dared to attack us; for he has not dared to do anything more since our military force here has been made more considerable. Worthy of remark in this connection is an observation made by the Council of the Seventeen in a general letter of the 30th October 1776 regarding the weak state of the Company's military force and artillery, and especially on this coast. It runs verbally thus:—

"The deep decline, in which these forces were, seems to have been observed "even by the native princes and has made an impression upon their minds, which "we might wish could have been prevented."

We are now obliged, on account of recruiting native troops and further expenses to which we are put as the natural outcome of such attacks, to bear such excessive charges—even if we restrict ourselves to the defensive, and to guarding what we still have—that for half the extra cost we could have had a large military force here and so perhaps have saved our possessions. But that is past, and it is no use crying over spilt milk. However, since we have experienced the consequences of such a weak condition, it seems to me that, although the affair with the Nabob has been settled, we ought to have not only more European soldiers here but also to keep on, at least for the present, our native troops.

What is most lamentable is that we have in our garrison so many invalids who at best can only be put on sentry duty, so that to reckon on the full number would be to miscalculate grievously. Meanwhile we can neither turn loose like old horses these men who have become invalids in the service of the Company nor pension them, because they have not served a sufficient number of years to be entitled to pension under the existing rules, unless the Company as a special favour, and to relieve Malabar once for all of these military invalids, would make them compassionate allowances

With regard to the native soldiers, it would be well to continue to keep in our service Native Christians and Chegos [1] under the name of Malabar soldiers, because being natives of the place who have wives and children here, they fight as well (for right to live at peace in their own country), and do not desert so easily as the sepoys, who in this open country sometimes pass from one side to the other according to the chances of war. Besides the Native Christians and Chegos cost nearly one-half less than the sepoys. In this connection I beg to refer to what I have written on the subject to Batavia in special despatches, dated 30th April 1778 and 27th October 1780. From this last letter you may learn how I have tried, on account of the notorious shortness of European soldiers, to get all I could out of the native troops, and especially out of the sepoys, or at least all that is got out of them by the English who are pretty successful with their sepoys in India.

Regarding the sepoys I must particularly remind your Worship that, being aware that Batavia also stood badly in need of more soldiers, I sent sepoys from here to Batavia by way of trial, as may be seen in my special letter to Batavia, dated 20th October 1779. I have continued sending them to the number of 190 men.

[1] *Chegos*: *cf.* Fra Vincenzo Maria (1683), page 265: "Those who cultivate the palm, called commonly "Cegos" or "Bandarins," and Canter Visscher (1723), Letter XXI. The Chegos (Chevakas, Chovas, Shogans) are the toddy-drawing caste, the Tiyans of British Malabar, and Izhavas of South Travancore.

Their Right Worshipfuls were so pleased that in a letter, dated 27th July 1780, they asked for 300 more; of this number 180 have already been sent. The remaining 120 might be sent at the first opportunity, and then their requisitions would be satisfied. But I would advise your Worship to accept not only those who present themselves for enlistment next bad monsoon (rainy season) but also to look out for more, provided they are young and keen; for I have no doubt but that their Right Worshipfuls will require more of these people. If this is not the case, and no more are wanted, you could keep the men all the same, and make room for them, granting their discharge to others who are less keen and not so young: which, as your Worship knows, can easily be managed with sepoys.[1]

The chief thing to be attended to with regard to the military in general—in which I have always found my advantage—is seeing that the men actually get what is due to them but nothing more; that they are not ill-treated in word or deed; that they are not flogged for a trifle; but on the other hand are punished without any mercy, according to law, for each offence which they are aware is forbidden under pain of punishment, and so kept under good discipline, and finally that they are kept smart in their dress, and continually exercised in the use of their weapons, especially in such exercises as are most useful in this country. I have often seen to our troops, Europeans and Malay sepoys and Malabar soldiers, going through their exercises to my satisfaction and firing their muskets. We must always be careful with gun-powder, especially in time of war, but in order to make our soldiers efficient, and remain so, in the use of their arms, we need spare no powder. For as cleanliness is the soldier's ornament, and we may even say, his health, so must constant occupation and exercises be his element.

As necessary as the military force for the maintenance of our possessions, is the artillery.

III.—Artillery.

I will not say here in how bad a condition this most important item was before; it is sufficient that the necessary remedies have been applied so far as times and circumstances have permitted. The walls are now provided with new and good gun-carriages while there are a good number in reserve. You may go on having more of them constructed and plated for the reserve, because when there is much shooting a gun-carriage may soon be knocked to pieces; besides the climate here also does much damage to the gun-carriages, if precautions are not taken.

The gun-carriages can however easily be protected against getting filled with water and against the weather by means of the prescribed precautions which should not be neglected; the wheels to be turned round monthly, the gun-carriages to be tarred in time, and care to be taken that the tar allotted for this purpose is actually used. I do not say this without reason, for I have found more than once that notwithstanding the orders and regulations in the matter, neglect would have resulted from the greed or indifference of those concerned if I had not always paid special attention to it. In addition to these precautions I asked permission from the High Indian Government in a letter, dated 1st May 1772, and obtained it on the 25th September to put the wall-guns, except the flank pieces, on the ground and to place the gun-carriages under cover in the bad monsoon (rainy season), when we need hardly fear hostilities. In this way the gun-carriages are protected for almost half a year from rain and bad weather, and will last nearly twice as long.

Again, although it is matter of common knowledge that gunpowder ought to be turned in time in order that it should not get lumpy and spoilt, yet I have been brought to the necessity of issuing such orders that the turning cannot be neglected any more, even wilfully. For in order to be certain that the powder barrels are turned monthly and the wheels of the gun-carriages every fortnight, this is now done in the presence of the picket officer and when it has been done the main guard reports it. A special monthly report is also received from our sub-factories in which there are guns and gunpowder. So neglect is not possible now if only care is taken that this order does not imperceptibly slip out of remembrance in extraordinary

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[1] On perusing this passage the Batavia Government asked for 100 more sepoys in addition to the 120 required to make up the previous indent (MS. No. 1146).

circumstances or under some pretext or other. For further information on the subject of artillery I will refer your Worship to the resolutions of 22nd August, 28th October 1771, 3rd February, 13th August and 16th September 1772, and 4th January and 15th October 1773.

Besides the artillery and ammunition for the walls of which a memorandum is annexed (Appendix 7), we have also fairly good field-artillery here. These guns ought always to be kept clean and to be held ready to be taken out as soon as orders issue. To prevent any neglect it is worth while to take a little walk occasionally and look personally into the matter. I know from experience how necessary this is.

Our gunners are now able to place a ball or throw a bomb anywhere you wish but the annual and weekly practices are in the highest degree necessary. I must specially recommend as a good thing to be continued my arrangements with regard to the Company of grenadiers whom I have recruited on terms of voluntary enlistment, *viz.*, allowing them to have themselves trained and exercised with the artillery by way of voluntarily qualifying themselves, and to practise handling the guns, shooting balls and throwing bombs at a mark with the promise that in case of a siege or attack, they will receive more pay, that is gunners' pay, so long as they act as gunners in such circumstances, which would not happen often.

For this purpose they go through a training at the practice times for gunnery four times a week, and once more every fortnight besides, in addition to their ordinary drill. So this Company can be used in a double service. In any case it is of great advantage that a lines-man should understand artillery, both field and siege, and there is another advantage, *viz.*, that these lines-men out of ambition, or it may be only by way of amusing themselves, apply themselves purposely to surpass those who are gunners by profession; while the gunners, not liking to be beaten by the lines-men, also apply themselves with more energy to their profession, and so they try to outdo one another, as I have noticed this many a time with pleasure.

Again, in order to make a virtue of necessity in these critical times, I have recently tried to make the same use of Native Christians for the artillery as for the infantry. In this connection I beg to refer to a special letter to Batavia, dated 6th January of this year. I have much pleasure in observing that these people answer the purpose fairly well in their way and so you should proceed further with their training.

After having dealt with marine and military forces and artillery, it will now be best to let the subject of desertion follow.

IV.—Desertion.

Desertion is an evil, which it seems impossible to put a stop to in this place. The country here is open and our men, who cannot always be kept locked up, can run away as easily as in any other place in India when they have a day off. The king of Cochin does not take them into his service any longer and I do not believe the king of Travancore keeps our deserters, except it may be some individual who has special skill or can be of special use. If he kept a good number of our deserters, we should certainly know of it. So our deserters go as a rule to the English at Anjengo, Tellichery or Mahé[1]. But what is most astonishing is that there have even been occasional desertions to the Nabob, although it is sufficiently known among the men how badly his Europeans are treated and paid. However, I must admit at the same time that in proportion to the greater numbers we have had here for some time now and also to the opportunities they have of absconding there has not been much desertion. I at any rate guarantee that the men here are not fleeced or done out of their due. I have always taken care that the head of the military has, besides what he receives from the Company, some income according to his character without charge to the private soldier in order that he may not be tempted by straitened circumstances into such fleecing of the soldier as sometimes takes place. This I have always most strictly forbidden. I have even had the good fortune when some deserters have written from the English, French or from the Nabob, on promise or in the hope of pardon, of hearing them tell their comrades that the great cry of better pay with other nations is all *bosh*, for it ends in their only getting half of what is announced, and also that they had

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[1] Mahé was taken by Colonel Brathwaite on the 20th of March 1779, but evacuated again towards the close of the year.

everywhere been treated badly and nowhere so well as when in the service of the Honourable Company, and that they had deserted chiefly out of fear when they had taken a drop too much and would have been late in getting back and, being afraid of correction, had kept away still longer, and realized too late that by remaining longer away they became liable to severe punishment, and so had at last, out of fear, tried to get out of the scrape as best they could. I am willing to believe that this sometimes happens, but at the same time experience teaches that men sometimes desert when sober, and after talking it over among themselves; so that desertion must in the majority of cases be ascribed to the characteristic of the soldier even in Europe, and as the saying goes, he just "gets it into his head" to desert without any reason. So I know of no better remedy against desertion than to continue the present system, *viz.*, to promise a reward of Rs. 10, and to pay it *de facto* to the native who catches a sailor or a soldier at a certain fixed distance; which reward is taken out of his pay. The people know what the distance is, and if the men go out of bounds, they are caught by the natives, who look out greedily for a chance. This system should be rigorously maintained and even though it may happen once in a way that a man is caught out of bounds sober and from all the circumstances apparently without intention to abscond. he should, in order to make no exception, be made to pay the reward; he knows what the bounds are and, being sober, does wilfully what he knows he must not do. Otherwise the zeal and diligence of the Malabar people, who keep a look-out for deserters for the reward's sake, would cool, and at last be altogether extinguished. So, as soon as one of the men is found absent at roll-call or otherwise, or is suspected of having deserted, it should immediately be reported and not be postponed till the next morning. For the administrator can then, before the gates are closed, let it be known to the people outside that a sailor or soldier is absent, and the news spreads among the Malabaris like wild-fire. The people at once go in search, even if it is late at night, just as if they were going a hunting; it has happened that a crowd of people went out and brought the absentee back in a few hours, and divided the money amongst themselves. The offering of this reward results in a good many being brought back, who would have gone astray through drunkenness or deserted if they had not been caught.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMPANY'S INVESTMENT ON THE COAST FOR THE EUROPEAN TRADE.

I must now deal specially with the *commercial interests of the Company* although this has been done already in short, at the beginning of this memoir, under the heading "Malabar in general".

To the business of the Company here belongs the collection of produce. Formerly the Company collected several articles here which they have since abandoned as being of no real interest to them, including even Malabar piece-goods; so that the collection of pepper now fills most of the canvas.

I.—Collection of Pepper.

The pepper collections here are two-fold, *viz.*, those of contract pepper and of pepper bought from private persons. By the first is meant the pepper which the king of Travancore has to supply under the last contract of 1753, *viz.*. 3,000 candies out of his hereditary territory at Rs. 65 a candy of 500 lbs., and 2,000 candies out of his conquests at Rs. 55. But since I have already said all that need be known about the contract pepper in the chapter about the king of Travancore, I will refer to that chapter and I will here only speak of the private collection, by which a good supply of pepper may be secured, if the men are only paid immediately in ready cash what is due to them without any deduction, and there is no cutting down when the pepper is weighed on delivery. Against this strict orders must be issued and you cannot be sufficiently watchful.

It has been sometimes held that purchases of this kind would tend to be detrimental to the contract-pepper; the fear being that on our paying much more to private persons than to Travancore and on his coming to hear of it, he would want as much, or at any rate much more than the contract price. But the king of Travancore knows full well that he is not the only prince in Malabar in whose territory pepper grows, and enough pepper can be bought, and really is bought, without him. Moreover I have more than once made His Highness understand and roundly declared that the contract-pepper, which he is bound to supply, is paid for by us dearly enough if he will only call to mind what great favour and advantages he has received from the Company in return, *viz.*, that the Company did not stand in his way when he was making himself master of so many kings and fertile pepper-lands, from which he is now drawing great revenues—not to speak of the expenses of a garrison and fortifications, which we have to bear here in time of peace for the safety of His Highness. I am of opinion therefore that we must do our best to make the king of Travancore keep to the contract and also purchase as much pepper privately as we can in the way of business and by merchantly means. For why should we let an opportunity slip and leave it to others? In any case I would not mind even if His Highness knew, for those from whom we purchase the pepper for more money are not under the same obligation to us as this prince, and therefore I would have no mind to give him a farthing more for his pepper than the contract price. It might work for the first two or three years, but he would still be neglectful in giving us the full contract supply so long as he does not receive from us the highest price which he can get for it from others. Besides, the least change in the contract would give occasion to his bringing about further changes according to his liking. It seems to me that the contract is favourable enough to him and no iota should be changed in his favour. It is like the man who keeps his teeth as long as he has not lost any of them, but no sooner allows one to be drawn than feels the one next to it to be loose too.

Meanwhile we have received sanction by special letters from Batavia, dated 20th September 1775 and 11th November 1776, to purchase pepper from private persons up to Rs. 100 a candy of 500 lbs. provided the purchases are not made under the eye of Travancore, but in the north. The Company can always get from Rs. 120 to Rs. 130 from the bombaras [native vessels]. This is easily got and serves as a bait to draw the bombaras to this place. During my tenure of office, I have purchased 764,

667 lbs. from private people. It is not very much, but in any case it is better than letting this quantity fall into the hands of others. For further information about the purchase of pepper I refer your Worship to what has been written about it in the special letters from Batavia, dated 17th September 1765, 31st October 1766, 25th September 1770, 1st October 1771 and 30th September 1774, 20th September 1775 and 11th November 1776, and also to the special letters from here to Batavia, dated 15th April 1766, 6th April 1767, 31st March 1768, 7th January 1772 and 4th January 1776.

Although the collection of pepper is our great concern here, you should not overlook the collection of cardamoms, because it is still continually recommended with much emphasis in letters from the Netherlands.

II.—Cardamoms.

The cardamom is a well-known fruit, the best kind of which grows on the hills in the country of Cotteate (Kottayam, *i.e.*, the Wynaad) which is now tributary to Nabob Hyder Alykhan. So it is now difficult to get hold of it. This is however a matter which must not be lost sight of; for further information I beg to refer to what was written in answer to the extract from the letter from the Fatherland, dated 7th October 1779, in our last General to Batavia, dated 6th January of this year.

Here in the Kingdom of Cochin there grows another kind of greatly inferior quality, which is smaller and of which the peel or rind becomes brownish in time, while the other or northern kind is better to look at and is yellow. Though the indent is only for the first kind, which we cannot get at present, I have ordered a quantity of two picols [of 125 Dutch lbs.] of the other kind. At any rate the merchants of the Company, David Rabbi and Anta Chetty, have undertaken to supply this quantity. It will be sent *viâ* Ceylon by two different ships to the Netherlands merely by way of experiment to see how much this kind of cardamom fetches there.

I have stipulated with them for Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per lb., and request your Worship to be so good as to remember this when the pepper-ship arrives.

III.—Cattle-hides.

We also collect cattle-hides here for Ceylon for packing cinnamon. It may be asked how it is possible to collect them on this coast, where no cattle at all are killed except among ourselves, and even these have to be specially reared or adroitly purloined. For a heathen would not for anything in the world sell his ox or cow to a Christian, Jew or Muhammadan for fear the animal would be slaughtered. Many hides can as a matter of fact be got here, but they are only obtained from the dead animals of the heathens. The country swarms with them and a thousand more or less is nothing. You see nothing but cattle and naturally where there are so many, a good number die. The heathens have no objection to allowing the hides to be removed.

Besides, there is another explanation which I thought an idle tale at first, but later on found to be true, *viz.*, that a low kind of people here are permitted to eat carrion and dead cattle. These people understand how secretly to besmear the grass or the places where the cattle graze with a certain fluid, which is poison for these animals, and causes them to pine away and die, so that in this way and also by natural death a large number die annually. But the king of Travancore, having found out this trick, has recently put a stop to it in his kingdom by issuing an order that no dead animals are to be eaten any more in his kingdom by the above-mentioned low caste, but they are to be buried immediately. For this reason a smaller number of cattle-hides are at present brought to market than before. But though this prohibition may possibly be obeyed at first by the people, it will in course of time be disregarded on account of the great number of the cattle, and more hides will then again be brought to market.

However the collection of hides also varies greatly with the state of trade. The more trade flourishes, the fewer hides can be purchased. For the bombara traders, and all the others whose vessels are undecked, pack up their wares, especially sugar, in hides, and pay much more for them than the Company, and the Company's

supplies must then decrease. We cannot compel the people to dispose of their wares to the Honourable Company for a smaller price than they receive from others, nor would it be advisable to prevent the bombaras from buying these hides, if you do not wish to hamper trade; for they cannot do it without them. The hides, which are for sale about here, are therefore brought up by everyone in order to be sold to the merchants in the good monsoon (season) so that we can only procure those which come from places far from this town, and of these we cannot get those which are for sale in the north, because they are bought up by the merchants of Ponnani and Calicut. Those available in the south are bought up by our residents at Porca and Calicoilan and are delivered to the Company at two rupees a corgy (score) excluding the expenses of carriage or freight. If Calicoilan (Kayenkulam) and Porca (Purakad) were not so far from this town, or if there were a commercial centre in the south, like Ponnani, six hours' north of Chettua (Chetway), we should perhaps collect much fewer hides even than now. I have taken much trouble trying to increase the collections, but found it impossible.

IV.—Gunny.

Gunny for making gunny-bags and other purposes is also collected on this coast, but again only at Porca and Calicoilan and only so far as it is required for our purposes here. I do not believe that we could procure more than we require for our service here, at least not for a large export trade. The cost price is three-tenths of a rupee a piece while under the regulations $1\frac{1}{3}$ pieces of gunny is the amount for one bag; so that a bag comes to cost 12 stivers[1]

Besides this, many other articles are produced here, but they belong to the minor products with which petty trade is driven and concern the Company very little.

V.—Surat piece-goods.

We may, however, put under the heading of products *collected* Surat piece-goods also, not because such piece-goods are collected here but because it might happen that the collection might have to be done here. For the Supreme Government at Batavia has, on my suggestion in special letter of the 10th February 1775, authorized me to give it a trial with the view of having recourse to this procedure in case it might no longer be to the interest of the Company to remain at Surat on account of the vexations of the Moorish Government, and the intrigues of the English, and with the view of procuring Surat piece-goods all the same in that case, through the merchants from the north, who obtain sugar, spices and other native merchandise here. With this view we recently obtained samples marked with the cost price from Surat and some merchants have agreed to bring along such piece-goods by way of experiment. But the attempt has failed; at least nothing has come of it, hitherto, as may be seen from the reference to the subject in the general letters from this settlement to and from Batavia. As the fault may be with the individuals with whom we had made the arrangements, I have now asked other merchants from the north to bring such piece-goods along with them for once in a way. It may be that nothing will come of this attempt either, and that the merchants do not find it to their advantage so long as they can take their piece-goods to market at Surat. Should our apprehensions be realised and no more sugar, bar-copper or spices be imported at Surat, then the merchants from the north, who would have to come here for these articles, would undoubtedly of their own accord bring piece-goods here with them, or could even be compelled to do so, if they desired to get the articles from us; for it seems they cannot do without them. However it is worth while to make another attempt meanwhile to procure these piece-goods; for in proportion as it is possible so long as we remain at Surat (where it is to be hoped that we may still remain and be able to remain), so much the more could we calculate on it if the contrary should happen[2].

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[1] The calculation is: cost of 1 bag = cost of $1\frac{1}{3}$ pieces $= \frac{4}{3} \times \frac{3}{10}$ rupees $= \frac{4}{10} \times 30$ stivers = 12 stivers. This probably allows for a handsome profit to the Company's servants. In 1800 gunny-bags were four to five rupees a score on the West Coast (Buchanan Appendix) or, say, seven stivers a piece.

[2] For the history of the establishment of British influence at Surat at the expense of the native rulers and of the Dutch, French and Portuguese the best authority is Forrest's Bombay Government records. The Castle of Surat had been taken from the natives in 1759, 22 years before, and the English had since then been practically sovereign in Surat, the other nations being allowed to trade there only on sufferance, if at all.

CHAPTER XIII.

EASTERN AND PRIVATE TRADE.

I.—Eastern Trade.

Among the other interests of the Company in this place must be ranked the (local) trade, which is at present on such a good footing that Malabar, so far from being a burden, is a lucrative factory in the absence of unhappy events to which all countries and places are exposed, especially of circumstances such as those in which we have been placed since October 1776, on account of Nabob Hyder Alyckan. For the trade-books of the last few years show that the profits of Malabar—not to speak of the profit on our pepper in the Netherlands—far surpassed the expenses; whereas in former times, the expenses as a rule were greater than the profits.[1]

That trade flourishes here better than in former times appears not only from the larger sales of cloves, as has been shown in an ordinary letter of the 5th January 1779 to Batavia, but also from the higher prices, especially of sugar, which is a true test whether trade flourishes or not.

I know that for a long time it has been a debated question whether the trade in sugar in Malabar is detrimental to the trade at Surat or not, and also how far the one is related to the other, and that much has been thought and written about it both by our Honourable Masters and by various administrators of knowledge and experience who have been stationed here and at Surat. But for discussions how far the trade here is not detrimental to the trade in Surat, and how far the Company can really gain more on their sugar here than at Surat, I beg to refer to what was written on these two points to Batavia under date 25th March 1773 and 2nd January 1777, in answer to the extracts from letters from the Fatherland, dated 2nd October 1771 and 29th September 1775, especially the first named.

Next there is also a fair sale of Japanese copper, and occasionally we have had the good fortune to sell it for a higher price than it would fetch at Surat. However apart from the sale of spices, Japanese copper and sugar, the trade in other articles such as iron, tin, lead and vermillion is at present of little importance, because they are brought to the coast by other European nations in abundance; at any rate there has been very little demand for them for some time now.

On the other hand the *sale of pepper* has now been for some time a part of our (local) trade, but at the same time doubtfully so; at any rate it has sometimes been recommended and then again put a stop to. So I thought it my duty to give my opinion about this in detail and to explain fully the utility of these sales. This was done, with all the circumstances fully set out and with citations of the former orders bearing on the subject, in my special letters to Batavia, dated 12th April 1773 and 28th March 1774, which were disposed of, my proposals being sanctioned, in special letters, dated 30th September, both of the year 1773 and the year 1774.

As this sale only takes place so far as the quantity allows it, after deducting what is required for loading the Ceylon homeward bound ships, it is always necessary to know what the stock of pepper in Ceylon is after the departure of the home ships, and how much they there think will be required for the next consignment over and above what remains in stock. The Ceylon officials, according to what is noted in the special letter from Batavia, dated 30th September 1774, have received the necessary orders in this matter. Besides any one who has the charge of the administration here and gives any attention to the matter, can as a rule calculate in time on a smaller or larger supply of pepper.

If attention is paid to it, the sale of pepper here can be of very great use to trade, partly because it gives, according to commercial calculations, as much profit as though it were exported to Coromandel and elsewhere, and partly because it

[1] The profits of the trade with Europe do not appear in the local accounts of the trade of the Malabar Settlements. By "trade" is understood the trade with ports in the east, though the factories were chiefly maintained in view of the "investment" and "collection" for Europe. The "profits of Malabar" referred to are the profits of the local trade and the revenues from land, customs, etc. See p. 35 above.

contributes greatly towards drawing merchants to this place and towards the sale of spices, as has been shown in my special letters quoted above. Meanwhile this place is as well fitted for trade as any in these regions, being almost the middle point of the west of India whither all strangers come as of their own accord. Few foreign ships pass here from Bengal or Surat without calling here on both voyages, be it only to supply themselves with provisions, which are cheap and plentiful here, or to hear the news or make enquiries about the prices of goods; while we in return hear their news and learn the prices of goods in the places they come from such as Mocha, Persia, Surat, Suez, Muscat, Bombay, Coromandel, Malacca, Bengal and elsewhere, so that we may know the prices almost everywhere, while some business or other is always done either by exchange or in cash, and the farmer of the customs also makes something.

Most of the trade, however, is done with the *bombaras* which come from the north, from Sind, Ketsmandu, Cadje (Cutch), Purbandar, situated far beyond Surat on the Guzerat Coast as well as from Goga, in the Gulf of Cambay, and finally from Muscat on the Arabian Coast.

These vessels are of a queer make, and have some resemblance to the vessels of the oldest times. They have only one mast, which leans forward instead of backward, only one sail, but a large and heavy one, resembling a bucket sail, which, because the mast slants forward, is always fairly well filled, no matter how little the breeze. These vessels are specially sharp-built both before and behind; on account of which they sail very fast.

Those from Muscat have now increased considerably in numbers since I have had an opportunity to enter upon private correspondence with the chief of Muscat, which should be kept up, a little present being sent him each voyage and a helping hand being extended to his vessels which come here, since this chief himself trades and has usually a larger or smaller share in the vessels; which is not the case with the other *bombaras*.

Further all the *bombaras* should be treated kindly and protected from all extortions, and care should be taken that when they receive their goods they are not cheated in the weight. From Rajapur near and around Goa, there come a kind of vessels called *sibars* with the same turn of sail as the *bombara*, but much smaller and of a much clumsier make.

Besides these there are native vessels somewhat smaller still which come from Barssalore (Basrur), Mangalore and Manjeseram (Manjeswaram) between Mangalore and Cannanore. Such vessels come also from Cannanore, Tellicherry, Badagare, Calicut, Tanur and Ponnany. From the south there come also native vessels, *viz.*, from Coilan (Quilon), Anjengo, Tengapatnam and Collettje (Colachel), at times even twice or three times during the good monsoon (season). Further up, from Manapar, Tuticorin, Kilkare, Coilpatnam, Jaffnapatnam and Negapatam native vessels also come here for trade. From Acheen there comes every now and then a two-masted ship for trade. Even from China, or to be precise from Macao, there come as a rule two or three three-masted ships a year, which first for some time try to sell their goods, and then at last proceed under convoy of a Portuguese frigate, which about that time comes here from Goa for the purpose, further northward to Calicut, Mahé, Tellicherry and sometimes even as far as Mangalore, where they continue selling their goods, take in pepper and sandalwood and drop down here again in order to sell the rest of their goods and buy necessaries.

All these vessels bring with them as a rule goods which the places they come from produce. A few of them, *viz.*, some of the *bombaras*, occasionally come empty and then bring along some venetian ducats.

For further elucidation and convenience I insert here a list[1] of what the *bombaras* and the other vessels usually, more or less, bring and take back.

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[1] Malay, Malayalam, Mahratta, Maldive and numerous other languages are represented in this list. I have come across explanations or hints in MS. No. 1136, which contains a list of medicines, price lists in MSS. Nos. 137, 745, 1184, lists of Malabar imports and exports about 1800 A.D. in Buchanan's Mysore, Canara and Malabar in a descriptive Memoir of Malabar by Lieutenants Ward and Conner, Survey department (Malabar Collectorate records). Dictionaries and glossaries have been consulted and local enquiry has been made. I am however still in doubt about one or two of the words.

The Muscat *bombaras* bring tamber [1], sulphur, incense, assafœtida, puvata or ruinas root [2], manjalcana or gall-nuts, sticks of liquorice, shark-fins, fish-gut, kismis [3], almonds, pastasjes [4], rose-water, glass-beads, small alcatives [5], ormus-salt [6], saleb [7], mirragomma [8], alwe [9], aurum pigmentum, tutia [10] (a kind of medicine for eye-complaints), small pearls, chalies [11], blue-stone [12], gum arabic and saltpetre.

The other bombaras bring capoc [13], cotton thread, canvas, coarse spreads, coarse chintzes, woollen cloths, combars [14], gessiapats [15], niquaniasses [16], ulwa seed [17], coriander seed, cummin seed, mustard seed, catjang [18], grain, cardels (a kind of edible small bean), borax, ajuvan [19] or onion-seed, putjak root [20], jerzelin seed and jerzelin oil [21], amenica oil [22], mustard oil, paparacar [23] (a kind of salt made out of garlic), fennel-seed, urida-beans [24], assasalie or garden-cress seed, sal armoniac [25], addividigam root [26]. trivetty or tricolpaconna root [27], ammekoron root [28], kargarony root [29], aretta root [30], wheat, aniseed, corkeljan (a medicine for horses), covy or sandal earth [31], gallnuts, coffee of the Mocha kind, soap, and now and then chanks [32], a product of the sea at Mocha and Jedda.

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[1] *Tamber—cf.* "Tammer of Dadels" (dates) in Regulation of 1764 printed in MS. No. 745. Derivation from Arabic *tamr*. The word here means dates.

[2] *Puvata or ruinas root* is Munjeet or Indian madder, a dye-root. Puvata stands for Malayalam Puvattu, ruinas for Persian Runas. The Dutch used to get the root from Persia and made attempts to cultivate it in their possessions in India. Import from Gombroon to Negapatam is mentioned in MS. No. 471 (1748 A D.). In the Memoir of Dutch Governor of Ceylon J. C. Pielat (1734), translation published by the Ceylon Government. page 29, it is observed "the officials at Coromandel must also see that the cultivation of *Ruinas roots* is continued, with which an experiment "was made last year. A quantity of half a pound of that seed was received here from Persia in the Hop-vogel, which seed was sent to Coromandel, and Your Excellency must from time to time inquire how much of it is growing."

[3] *Kismis* or Kishmis, still a common word, is "a sort of Persian currant" (Valentijn IV (1), 255, Buchanan. Appendix VIII)

[4] *Pustasjes*—I take to be pistacchios. I find the forms *pistasjes* in Valentijn IV. (1), 255, *pistachjes* in the Batavia Diary under 28th September 1676, *pistasias* in the Batavia Diary under the 5th January 1675, *pistaches* in the English records (Foster's English Factories in India, volume for 1624-5, page 161).

[5] *Alcatives* are Persian carpets or table-cloths (Schouten II, 13, Persiaensche Alcatyven of Tafelkleederen). The word is explained by Valentijn and Schouten, and particularly fine specimens, intended as presents for Native princes, are described in the Batavia Diaries.

[6] *Ormus-salt.* Persian salt was an article of import at Cochin in Buchanan's time. The Dutch dealt in the rock-salt of the island of Ormuz as early as 1629 (Journal of P. Van der Broecke published in 1717, page 194).

[7] *Saleb* (Arabic) is a medicinal tuber (Hobson Jobson).

[8] *Mirragomma*—Myrrh, gum resin, from the Arabic (Macleane) In 1779 it cost 28 stivers a lb. in Holland (MS. No. 1134).

[9] *Alwe.—Cf.* "gum alwe" below. I take to be Moens' way of spelling aloë, aloe. The Persian is Alwa (Hobson Jobson). The inspissated juice of the Aloe Socotrina. In 1726 its price in Holland was 2 to 4½ stivers a lb., in 1779 10 stivers.

[10] *Tutia*, Tuttam, Malayalam from Sanskrit, means an oxyde of zinc and is used medicinally. Persian tutiya. Sanskrit tuttha (Macleane).

[11] *Chaly*—Probably the same as Shalie, salu, etc. ; a soft twilled cotton stuff of a Turkey red colour (Hobson—Jobson).

[12] *Blue-stone.*—Blue vitriol. Sometimes the same as tutia (No. 10) (Macleane).

[13] *Capoc* (Malay kapuk) is the silk-cotton tree and its produce, used for stuffing mattresses, etc. (Valentijn III (1), 175, Macleane).

[14] *Combars*—Perhaps = Portuguese comarbãdas "a rich Persian cloth" (Castanheda *apud* Hobson—Jobson).

[15] *Gessiapats*—I have not come across elsewhere, at any rate in this form. "Gesjes" of Bengal are however mentioned in a list of cloths in Valentijn V. (1), 303.

[16] *Niquaniasses*—Fine Surat niquaniasses 14 × $1\frac{5}{16}$ ells cost $4\frac{3}{5}$ guilders in Holland in 1779. coarse Surat ditto 13 × $1\frac{5}{16}$ cost $3\frac{1}{2}$ guilders (MS. No. 1134). A niquanias was a cheap cotton cloth.

[17] *Ulwa seed* = fenugreek (Arabic *hulba*, Malayalam *uluva*).

[18] *Catjang*: Malay, Javanese, etc., generic name for the kinds of pulses Anglo-Indians call "grams", botanical species *phaseolus*, *dolichos*, *vigna*, *psophocarpus*, etc.. of family leguminosaee, sub-family *papilionaceæ*.

[19] *Ajuvan*—Hindi for Royal cumin (Macleane) – *Cf.* Buchanan "Ajuvan, a seed like anise".

[20] *Putjak*, in the Tellicherry Diary, *putchuck*, a fragrant leaf or root, exported to China. A consignment of it was exported to Canton from Tellicherry in 1742. Valentijn V 1 (34), speaks of it as a leaf of Achin that is pounded to powder and used as incense. According to Hobson-Jobson it was really a Himalayan root and became in China a chief ingredient of josticks.

[21] *Jerzelin oil*: Jerzelin is Portuguese (from the Arabic) for gingely, which last form is the commoner old Dutch, as well as English.

[22] *Amenica oil*: Amanakku is Tamil for the castor-oil plant—*Cf.* Buchanan Appendix, p. XXVIII "Amanick oil".

[23] *Paparacar*—Hindi, a sub-carbonate of soda (Macleane).

[24] *Urida-beans*—*Cf.* Buchanan Appendix, p. XXIII ; *Ureed*, a pulse, Buchanan Appendix, p. XXVIII, *Ured*; a pulse. Black gram, from Hindi or Mahratta.

[25] *Sal armoniac* for Sal ammoniac, as also in old English (Murray's Dictionary).

[26] *Addividigam root*—Malayalam *Atividayam*, a medicinal root (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[27] *Trivetty or tricolpaconna*: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The second is a Malayalam word correctly spelt and the first is Sanscrit trivrita, both meaning a medicinal root, convolvulus turpethum."

[28] *Ammekoron root*, Malayalam *Amukkuram*, a medicinal root, physalis flexuosa (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[29] *Kargarony root*, Malayalam Kadukarohani, a medicinal root, helleborus niger (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[30] *Aretta root*, Malayalam *Aretha*, Canarese *Arevata*, cassia fistula, roots used as a febrifuge (Macleane). Mr. Achyuta Menon notes that Nos. 27–30 are very commonly prescribed by native physicians in Cochin.

[31] *Covy*, Malayam *Kovi*, a red or yellow earth.

[32] *Chanks* are a shell well enough known to Anglo-Indians. The Madras Government, following in the wake of the Portuguese and Dutch, fishes for them at Tuticorin. A monograph on the shell will be found among the Madras Museum bulletins.

Next the *sibars* from Rajpur bring as a rule, catu [33] of sorts, raw lac, wood, salt, coriander, covy [34] or sandal earth, urida,[24] onion and saltpetre. The vessels from Barssalore, Mangalore and Manjeseram bring rice, catjang, [18] horse-beans, jerzelin seed, [21] urida [24] beans, sandalwood, white dry areca, fresh areca, chelas,[34] roomals,[35] canjauw-leaves [36] and jagerkana.[37]

Those from Cannanore, Tellicherry, Badagara, Calicut, Tanur and Ponnany bring cardamoms, country iron, sappan-wood,[38] pulenjicca-beans,[39] iris root, garlic, aretta root [39] (white), tobacco, javely, [40] white and black root, raw wax, chikeny areca and fresh areca.

From Coilan, Ansjengo, Tengapatam and Coiletje come piece-goods, tamarind, jager-sugar [37] and coir-fibre.

From Manapar, Tuticorin, Kilcare and Coilpatnam come diverse cotton goods as spreads, chintzes, frocks, stockings, cambays,[41] handkerchiefs, caatjes,[42] tuppaties,[43] chelas,[34] roomals,[35] besides tobacco, salt, onions, writing-olas,[44] carpetty [45] or native sugar.

From Acheen, pitch, Dividar wood,[46] sappan-wood,[38] benzoin [47], patjapat,[48] camphor, unworked aguil-wood [49], white dried areca, gatte-gamber,[50] sago and rattans.[51]

From China or Macao, silk of divers colours, raw silk, silk stuffs, lanquin sugar,[52] spiaulter,[53] quick-silver, camphor, alum, radix China,[54] cantjore root,[55] porcelain, tea, boeyans,[56] iron pans, anise flowers, castor, arsenic, pitch, copper articles, silk and cotton stockings, preserved ginger, quipersols,[57] different kinds of paper, even a kind of writing paper and pedermany (a kind of medicine for eye complaints).

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[33] *Catu—cf.* Buchanan II, 102: "From Rajapur vessels bring *cut* or terra japonica"; catechu, Malayalam cattu (Macleane). The price of catechu in Holland in 1779 was 8½ stivers a lb. (MS. No. 1134).

[34] *Chelas*: common in the Dutch price-lists (MSS. Nos. 137 & 1134); and not one of the cheaper cloths; in one list it is explained as a chequered gingham and the price is 13¾ guilders a piece.

[35] *Roomals*: handkerchiefs, common in many Indian languages and in the Dutch price lists.

[36] *Canjauw-leaves*: I have not come across elsewhere. Possibly Malayalam *canchavu*, ganja.

[37] *Jagerkana*: probably candied molasses from jaggery (the Indian word which has passed into our sugar), molasses and candy (from an Indian word meaning piece).

[38] *Sappan-wood*, Malayalam sappanam, a red dye-wood. Price in Holland 1726, 4½ to 5¾ guilders per 100 lbs. (MS. No. 137).

[39] *Pulenjicca-beans*, Malayalam pulinchikka, berries of soap-berry tree (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[40] *Javely*: I take to be Mahratta javeri, cholum (holcus sorghum).

[41] *Cambay*: The name of this cloth is pretty certainly derived from the town Cambay. A cheap cloth which cost 4½ guilders a piece in 1726 (MS. No. 137).

[42] *Caatjes—cf.* Buchanan Appendix XXXVII: *Catcha* cloth. Mannapar white caatjes 2½ by 1½ elle cost 8⅝ guilders in Holland in 1779 (MS. No. 1134).

[43] *Tuppatti* is doubtless dupatti, common word for cloth from Hindustani doppata, double breadth.

[44] *Ola*, palm leaf (Malayalam), used for writing.

[45] *Carpetty*, Malayalam carippetti, coarse palmyra sugar (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[46] *Dividar*, Deodar, Sanskrit Deva-dara, God's tree.

[47] *Benzoin* or *Benjamin*, as it is often called in the English records, is a resin of which incense was made. Price in Holland 1726, 24 to 34 stivers a lb., 1779, 18 to 26 stivers a lb (MSS. Nos. 137 and 1134).

[48] *Patjapat*—Bengali, pachapat, Hindustani Pacholi, Anglo Indian *patchouli*, the well-known perfume made from the leaves of a labiate plant allied to mint (Hobson Jobson).

[49] *Aguil-wood*: "le bois que les Portugais appellent aquila brava . . . . . . les Indiens s'en servent principalment aux funerailles de leurs Bramans" (Mandelslo, edition of 1727, page 390); *aguil*-wood in Val. V-1 (1), 34; *agel*-wood in Val. III-1, 206; Malayalam, Akil; English *Agulah* in Bantam letters, Bombay Selections, Vol. II; eagle-wood; probably from Portuguese aquila, resting on the Malayalam word; made into incense.

[50] *Gatte gamber*. Modern Dutch is *gitagom*, gamboge. A gum from Siam. Batavia diary, 10th December 1676, speaks of "200 catties of *gittagomba* from Siam". Valentijn III-2 (2), 63 (Siam), has the form *Gutta Gamber*; III-1, 186, he spells it *Gatah-gambir*. Price-lists of 1762 in MS. No. 745 have *Gom-gutte*. Batavia Diary, 4th February 1674, has *Guttagummi*, which is the derivation commonly accepted. But Malay Gatak, gum (as in gutta-percha) seems just as likely.

[51] *Rattans* were exported even to Europe, where they fetched 9 to 10 guilders a 100 lbs. in 1726 and 29 guilders in 1779 (MSS. Nos. 137 and 1134).

[52] *Lanquin sugar*, from Lanquin, an island off the coast of China in 28° latitude (Valentijn, Formosa, page 43).

[53] *Spiaulter*. English spelter, also tutenage, toothnague, tooth-and-egg (from tutia No. 10 above)—*cf.* Valentijn V-1 (1), 329 "Tintenaga of Speauter". A white alloy made in China, in which a large trade was done in the 17th and 18th centuries The price in Holland in 1779 was 17 guilders per 100 lbs. (MS. No. 1134).

[54] *Radix China*, China root, medicine, from plants of the smilax genus (Macleane).

[55] *Cantjore-root*: I have not come across this elsewhere. It may possibly be Tamil canjori the Scorpion Leaf, the root of which is used medicinally.

[56] *Boeyans*; Perhaps earthenware pots; *cf.* p. 170 above, where "Chinese boeyangs" are mentioned.

[57] *Quipersols*, old English Kittysols, kethsoles, etc., very common in the old records, means Chinese paper or silk (Bat. Diary, 1678, p. 61, zyde quitasollen) sun-shades, from Portuguese Quita-sol. Quita-sollen is the usual form in the 17th century (Batavia Diary).

To Muscat are exported in return, sugar, spices, spiaulter, [53] iron, steel, lead, tin, pepper, sandal-wood, cardamoms, wooden articles, dry ginger, curcuma,[58] nerbale-beans,[59] castor, porcelain, rice, cocoanuts in the husk and without, agel-wood,[49] benzoin,[47] camphor, clove-pepper, patjapat,[48] Palcatchery [60] piece-goods, cowries, coir fibre and ropes.

To other distant places of the *bombaras*, sugar, spices, Japanese copper, spiaulter,[53] lead, tin, quicksilver, camphor, raw Chinese silk, sappan-wood,[38] alum, pepper, cardamoms, Bengal silk stuffs, Chinese silk stuffs, Palcatchery chialauw, Bengal long-pepper and roots of the same, triatroot, porcelain, clove-pepper, pitch, dry ginger, curcuma,[58] cocoanuts with and without husk, wooden articles, cuva-root [61] and flour, marmanjel,[62] nerbale beans,[59] coir fibre and ropes, janaparil or little whetstones, fruita-canjara,[63] fruita-mattapesy, collenjan [64] or wild ginger, calliatour wood [65] and dry areca.

To Rajapur, spices, sugar, alum, spiaulter,[53] cuva,[61] cocoanuts with and without the husk.

To Barssalore, Mangalore and Manjeseram spices, sugar, Japanese copper, tin and lead, steel, spiaulter,[53] Bengal long-pepper, and roots thereof, Bengal silk cloths, Colletje and Manapar blue salempuris and white caatjes,[66] Malacca pitch, Dividar-wood,[46] calliatour-wood,[65] benzoin,[47] camphor, Chinese silk stuffs, quicksilver, vermillion, Chinese iron pans, cantjore-root,[55] radix China,[54] raw silk, alum, copera,[67] oil, tamarind, honey, dry ginger and commelmas.[68] To Cannanore, Tellicherry, Badagara, Calicut, Tanur and Ponnany, spices, sugar, Japanese copper, lead, tin, spiaulter,[53] camphor, benzoin,[47] Dividar-wood,[46] Mallaca pitch, calliatour-wood,[65] Manapar and Colletje piece-goods,[66] tamarind, Manapar onions, writing-olas,[44] jager kana,[37] raw lak, armozines,[69] Batavia arrack, Ceylon arrack, Cochin arrack, corcapuly-fruit,[70] sole and upper leather, magadotties,[71] Bengal saltpetre, clove-pepper, Malacca long-pepper, cocoanut oil, commelmas,[68] atty and tripilly-fruit.[72]

To Coilan (Quilon), Ansjengo, Tengapatam and Colletje (Collachel) are exported spices, sugar, Japanese copper, iron, lead, tin, spiaulter,[53] steel, cotton, besides all the northern goods brought by the *bombaras* and *sibars* and also paddy and rice.

To Manapar, Tuticorin, Kilcare, Coilpatnam, Jaffnapatnam, Negapatnam and Acheen are exported chikeny areca, coir fibre, copera [67] and cocoanuts, nerbale,[59] sandalwood, pulenjica,[39] dry ginger, curcuma,[58] fruita-canjara,[63] angelica boards,[73] and most of the goods from the north imported by the *bombaras* and *sibars*.

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[58] *Curcuma* is Malayalam for turmeric (curcuma longa).

[59] *Nerbale-beans or berries*: I have not come across this elsewhere. It may possibly be Malayalam *Nirvval*, water wood-apple.

[60] *Palcatchery* piece-goods; Palcatchery is Malayalam Palghatcheri, Palghat, a taluk of the Malabar district.

[61] *Cuva-root*, correct Malayalam for Indian arrow-root (curcuma augustfolia). In a Regulation in MS. No. 745 the entry occurs "Tapekir, see Cuva". Tavakhira is the Mahratta for Malabar arrow-root (Macleane).

[62] *Marmanjel*, Malayalam, maramanjal, curcuma zanthorrhiza; the bark is used as a medicine for eye diseases (Mr. Achyuta Menon).

[63] *Fruita-canjara*, Malayalam, kanjira, nux-vomica. Used as medicine for elephantiasis, antidote to snake bite, etc.

[64] *Collenjan or wild ginger*: *cf.* Buchanan Appendix, page II. "Colenzeen, used in medicine."

[65] *Calliatour-wood*, red sandalwood. Valentijn VI (1) says "it bears the name Caliatour-wood because from of old it is taken to and unloaded at the town of Caliatour, now Kistnapatam" (Nellore District). A dye-wood. Price in Holland, 1779, 17 guilders per 100 lb. (MS. No. 1134). The word occurs in the Fort St. George Diaries, 1682, 1683, etc.

[66] *Colletje (Collachel) and Manapar blue salempuris and white caatjes*: common cotton cloths. Mannapar salempores $22 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ells, $8\frac{5}{8}$ guilders (MS. No. 1134).

[67] *Copera* = copra, dry kernel of cocoanut.

[68] *Commelmas—cf.* Buchanan II, 204, *complemoss*. Maldive kalu-bili-mas, black bonito fish (Hobson Jobson). The dried fish has always been a common article of export from the Maldives.

[69] *Armozines*, very common in the 18th century price lists under silk cloths. In 1726 armozines, single, cost 6 to 7 guilders in Holland, double 13 to 14. In 1779 armozines single, 20×2 cobidos, cost $11\frac{3}{4}$ guilders, double $21 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ cobidos, $18\frac{1}{2}$ guilders (MSS., Nos. 137 and 1134)

[70] *Corcapuly-fruit*, Hindustani Korkapali; Malayalam Kurkampuli; a kind of tamarind used in curries. Father Vincenzo Maria, who calls it Carcapuli, has a description on page 332 of his book (1683 A.D.) and Mandelslo (edition of 1727, page 386) observes "Le carcapuli est un fruit de la grosseur d' une cerise dont il a aussi le goût."

[71] *Magadotties—cf.* Buchanan App., p. VIII. Mogadooties, silk from Bengal; from Bengali mūga (Hobson Jobson).

[72] *Atty and tripilli-fruit*: Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "Atti-tippali is elephant pepper; *Atti* by itself is fig-tree and *tippali* long pepper.

[73] *Angelica boards*—Angelico in Father Vincenzo Maria (1683), p. 381; English angely-wood, Malayalam anjali; a wood used in shop-building, etc.; Wild jack (Macleane).

To China or Macao, sandal, pepper, cotton putjue-root,[20] gummamira, alwe,[9] olibanum gum,[74] sulphur, saltpetre, tamber,[1] catu,[33] assafœtida, third sort, fish-teeth, elephant tusks, shark-fins, fish-gut, abada horn,[75] Arabian gum, Surat cambay,[41] gingham coverlets, combars[14] and sometimes some garioffel-nails,[76] lead and tin.

This trade is mostly carried on by exchange and our merchants take care to have in stock the articles required for the return freights whether they are produced here or imported from elsewhere, and to sell again or send elsewhere the goods which they buy; while from the Company they buy spices, Japanese copper, sugar; in a word they take over those articles from the Company, which the Company sells, at such prices as may be agreed upon.

The present system on which the Company's trade is conducted with the merchants of the Company, who now buy up the whole cargo, is much better than that formerly in force. Formerly the merchants of the Company brought only so much as they could dispose of, and had agreed upon with the traders, and thus they always obtained some profit and left the rest of the merchandise on the hands of the Company. So we should make them stick to the present system of buying up the whole cargo (except the spices of which the price has been fixed once for all) at a reasonable, and as profitable, a price as can be realized according to the circumstances of the moment.

Moreover, in order to know well to what extent we can hold on to the price and for how much the merchants of the Company who, as has been said before, as a rule trade by barter, can sell the goods again, one ought always to make careful enquiries about trade in the north, and then it is always better not to haggle about farthings with the merchants, because the Company will then soon be rid of all its goods and run no risks, since our merchants are well-to-do men. This is much better than the Company realising one-quarter or one-eighth of a rupee more per hundred pounds for a single consignment, and meanwhile having the rest of the merchandise left on its hands, as formerly happened more than once, but not since the year 1770–71.

We have here four merchants, namely, two Jews and two Benyans. The Jews are named David Rabbi, son of the well-known Company's merchant, Ezechiel Rabbi, and Ephraim Cohen, and the Benyans Anta Chetty and Mannu Chetty. Ezechiel Rabbi was formerly almost the only merchant here, at least he alone had the title of Company's merchant, and if any one, Jew, Canarin or Benyan, took goods from the Company in order to sell them to the dealers it was done through the channel of Ezechiel or with his consent, so that this old man was almost master of the trade here, which, to tell the plain truth, was not to the Company's interest. This had already struck my predecessor just before my arrival here, and he had began to make some changes concerning which your Worship might be so good as to refer to the letter from here to Batavia, dated 31st March 1771, and from Batavia to this place, dated 1st October 1771. This Jew had otherwise at bottom an honest and upright character and had much influence over the native princes and the notables of their kingdoms. It must also be acknowledged that this Ezechiel was often and in various circumstances of service to the Company. So it would have been a hard blow to the old man if in order to put a stop to his monopolising the trade, we had wished to keep him out of it in his old days and in the last moments of his life, and so I had made up my mind to set to work imperceptibly and by degrees. For this reason I occasionally discoursed with him on this subject, and showed that the trade should be free, and could not be carried on with propriety any longer as before, and that any one, who should deserve the title of Company's merchant, ought not to buy the Company's goods in parcels, after first having found buyers, for the Company could do business in this way as well itself; but that a merchant ought to buy up the whole cargo, and that no one could trade without running risks. And so I had already slowly brought home to him the necessity in general, and the particular convenience that some others should be, as it were trained to this trade by him, as permanent merchants of the Company, and be accepted by the Company as such along with him, and I had the satisfaction to find the old man not contradicting, but on the contrary acknowledging the justice of my

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[74] *Olibanum-gum*, Latin, frankincense; I find it in a list of medicines in MS. No. 1136.

[75] *Abada horn*: rhinoceros horn, from the Portuguese (Hobson Jobson).

[76] *Garioffel-nails*: Cloves. Valentijn III-1, 195. "They are also called otherwise Giroffel-nails, a bastard word from the Greek and Latin, Caryophyllon".

remarks. However as he died in the month of October 1771, and so even before the arrival of the first ship from Batavia in my time, the reasons for introducing the change bit by bit fell to the ground and I could arrange things to my liking the sooner. Since then I have carried on the trade in that manner with the above-mentioned four merchants, though I must admit that my predecessor had already laid the foundation. It is absolutely necessary not to employ as merchants of the Company only Jews or only Canarins or only Benyans so that no one nation should obtain control over the trade, or have a monopoly. For the Jews, Canarins and Benyans are secretly antagonistic to one another, and although the trading Jews have more means and are generally more honest than the Canarins or Benyans, yet the last-named are much better business men and much smarter in all other respects. This is one more reason why they should not be allowed to control the trade any more than the Jews, and I may well say that to keep the balance among the merchants is one of the most important requisites for directing trade here properly.

Further in the papers of former times many drawbacks and inconveniences are mentioned which either interrupted trade or made it difficult. I will willingly acknowledge that there is hardly anything which is exposed to so many vicissitudes as trade here and that we have really had to struggle against many difficulties. For now it was the disorders in the north which were injurious to trade, then was it impeded by pirates, then the scarcity of money among the merchants interrupted it, then the dumping of sugar by Macao boats interfered, and then again something went wrong with the manufacture of the sugar. Nor can I deny that the same and other accidents may recur; and I must also confess that I can lay down no certain rule for overcoming similar and other troubles, which may be caused by the smallest circumstance. The best and only rule I know of is the simple secret which is the best norm of all conduct, viz., to adapt yourself to circumstances and above all to manage the Company's trade as though it were your own and as though on your own account and then I can assure that all these mountains of difficulties will be much better overcome than in any other way. I need not prove this in detail; only set up as a trader on your own account and you will be found steering your way through all difficulties by giving and taking now more now less according to circumstances, just as it is the man to whom the cow belongs who hastens to take the beast by the horns, as the saying is.

II.—Private Trade.

Here I must also say a word about the private trade. By this I mean that trade which the administrators (*i.e.*, the Commandeurs or Chiefs of the Settlement) here formerly conducted on their own account, but which is now conducted by the Company [1]. This trade has been the cause of some unpleasantness to me because the monopolists, who found the ground cut away beneath their feet and their power broken, gave the ship-people perverted ideas; and for this reason I shall go back a little way.

You must know that in former times the administrators here generally traded either in person or indirectly through others, whom they used for that purpose, by which a kind of monopoly or coercion took place in trade, so that one paid for goods as much as one was pleased to give and ship-people had to dispose of their goods for what was offered, because others out of respect for the administrator would not or dared not offer or buy anything. This caused secret dissatisfaction to others here, who did not fail not to make the ship-people understand, if not directly at least indirectly, that they also would like to buy their goods and even for a higher price, but in order not to displease the administrator they dare not, and the ship-people naturally complained about this.

But when the administrator did not trade the ship-people were exposed to an even worse monopoly, which they experienced when the monopolists agreeing secretly among themselves, had no one to compete with them. To give an instance, one of them offers the amount they have agreed to amongst themselves. The ship-people, desiring a better price, insist for some time on it. Next day a second person comes, who, instead of offering more, offers a little less, just as the Jews with the ship-people at Amsterdam when they come home. In this manner the seaman suffers

[1] See pages 30 and 34 of the introduction and Appendix VIII.

even more than under the monopoly of an administrator trading on his own account. For instance the price of powder-sugar here had been as a rule only 10 or at most $10\frac{1}{4}$ or once in a way $10\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a picol [125 Dutch lbs.] and so far as I know not higher. This proves that the ship-people obtain more for their sugar now than before.

Whether now the administrators traded and controlled the trade or whether they made an agreement with some one else for a round sum in return for which they let that person go his own way as was proposed to myself immediately on my arrival here, what the private trade here really was must have been known at Batavia, and this was no doubt the reason why the Chief and Second were at last forbidden to trade either directly or indirectly, and granted in compensation a brokerage of 3 per cent. on the sale of the Company's merchandise, taking their oath every year that they had not traded privately either directly or indirectly.

But my predecesssor pointed out that this commission was not sufficient—as it in fact is not for an administrator here who knows how and tries to live in a decent manner and to maintain the honour of the nation to some extent before strangers—and therefore petitioned that trading be permitted to him as to all the other officials here. But just as their Right Worshipfuls were about to dispose of this petition, I received charge of Malabar and was permitted to trade privately with the ordinary restriction in respect of contraband.

The way was open to me to do a good stroke of business if I had preferred my own interest to that of my masters. But I considered that the Company sits here as a merchant, and that, if an administrator here is allowed to do for himself what he is bound to do for the Company, namely, to trade, self-interest may at times so lead him astray that he would see first to his own interest and to the Company's only afterwards. For this reason both Mr. Van de Graaff [1], the then Second here and now Councillor Extraordinary and Director of Surat—who was of my opinion—and I declined, and preferred another means of support, viz., 5 per cent. instead of 3 per cent. brokerage which had formerly been sanctioned on the merchandise sold by the Company and also on the pepper collection. This was sanctioned except that the 5 per cent. on the collections of pepper was reduced to 3. Now the interest of the Governor and the Second is the same as the Company's. For the more merchandise and the higher the prices we are able to realise on it, and the more pepper we collect, the larger are our profits, but the way is at the same time clear for the monopolists to agree among themselves and force the ship-people to sell their sugar and arrack at a low price.

But when I came here and was forced to make such capital repairs to the buildings and fortifications of the Company as have already been indicated, I foresaw that however economically the Company might be served in this matter, it must cost much money, and I was even afraid that for this reason alone the repairs would one day be given up. I had also noticed in the Malabar papers, especially in the secret considerations of the late Ordinary Councillor Schreuder, a scheme for conducting some sort of trade here on the Company's account and for buying goods from the traders who come here, and selling them again; though difficulties having been raised from here and representations made, no action was taken. But on finding in the aforesaid considerations among other things these encouraging words of Mr. Schreuder's "*to sum up the Honourable Company can not only do everything that private persons can do, but even much more, if it is served faithfully and a man applied to its affairs the same amount of judgment and reflection as he would to his own*", I was roused to give the scheme a trial for my part and to propose to the High Indian Government to do for the benefit of the Honourable Company what was done before by the administrators for themselves, viz., to trade and to buy and sell certain articles here on which I thought I could gain something, and this would be money found for the Company. I gave the scheme a trial as soon as possible, and it proved to be a success. It was not only approved of, but I was also recommended to go on with it. Thus the monopoly here received a death-blow, because the Company can always give a little more than others and however small the gain is, it is picked up like money found and easily got. To mention only the sugar, the price of this, as has been said, was as a rule 10, $10\frac{1}{4}$ or at most $10\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a picol, but I generally offered the ship-people so much according to circumstances that no one else could offer as much, not to speak of more. I have even bought sugar from the ship-people

[1] W. J. Van de Graaff afterwards Governor of Ceylon and a conspicuous member of the Batavia Council.

at 12 rupees a picol [125 Dutch lbs.] when I saw I could afford to do so and make a little profit, and you may say the ship-people were particularly lucky. But as this trade is a thorn in their flesh to the monopolists, they tried their best to give the ship-people an idea that they might have given something more even, but had drawn back because the Company was also bidding; as if they were so entirely devoted to the Company that they do not like to interfere with its business. The Company would indeed be lucky, if this were the chief principle of all the Company's officials and subjects in India; but it was something quite different. Meanwhile the ship-people, who are accustomed to offer their "permitted" goods[1] to the Company, had full liberty to inquire about the market price, and also to sell them to whoever they liked. For my own part, when I had finally examined all the circumstances with the Second (Second in Council) and considered what was the highest price we could give and yet at the same time make some profit for the Company (which has an advantage over private traders in landing cargo, in warehouse rent and in calculating interest on capital), I would give leave to the Second to make that bid to the ship-people and settle with them, if they were satisfied with the price, while they were still free to make enquiries as to whether any one would give them more, which they also did. But after a previous manœuvre, namely, a shrugging of the shoulders, they would receive this sinister answer "*Sir, I would take your sugar, but I cannot well do so*"; on being asked again why something more cannot be given, the answer is: *I should like to give something more, but I cannot well explain*; on being finally asked whether they were not allowed to buy the sugar, the conversation would be curtly broken off with "*Sir, I beg to be excused from explaining the matter*".

I ask whether this would not give the ship-people an indelible prejudice? And whether it could be got out of the head of the most modest seaman that no one except the Company dared buy sugar? I know all about it so well that I could name these men, although they think I know nothing; not to speak of three seamen who had opened their eyes and had seen the serpent in the grass, having once openheartedly explained things to me, adding by what tricks and turns attempts are made to mislead seamen here and to persuade them to complain to their correspondents at Batavia about the coercion in the sale of their "permitted" cargoes. Indeed a happy coercion for the ship-people, when the Company can offer them more and in reality offers more than others, who have to calculate the expenses of conveying the goods ashore, warehouse rent and interest on their capital.

From all this, one can easily understand that their only object was to make me abandon this trade, leaving the field open to their monopoly. They thought I would not care to continue to have a bad name among the ship-people, and would prefer to abandon that trade—as being after all for the Company and not for myself—at least not to devote to it so much energy as if it were my own; and then the poor seaman, who has to work so hard for a living, would open his eyes too late. But no; I have learned to do right, and not to look behind. Let those who are anxious to trade only offer a single farthing more for sugar than the Company and let them see whether they will not get the sugar.

Meanwhile I will give here a short abstract of the clear profit to the Company from this trade since I started it. Detailed accounts have been sent annually to Batavia.

	GLD.			RUP.		
On powder sugar, profit	60,559	14	8	50,466	21	0
,, Candy sugar, profit	5,166	18	0	4,305	36	0
,, Apy arrack, profit	1,176	0	0	980	0	0
,, Ceylon arrack, profit	1,027	4	0	856	0	0
,, Capoc (wool of the silk cotton tree), profit ..	63,275	2	0	52,729	12	0
,, raw Chinese silk, profit	8,387	2	0	6,989	12	0
,, alum, profit	2,744	14	0	2,287	12	0
,, spiaulter (spelter, tutenague, an alloy), profit.	3,070	10	0	2,558	36	0
,, Sappan-wood (a red dye-wood), profit ..	1,198	19	8	999	7	0
,, Sandal-wood, profit	5,004	6	8	4,170	13	0
Grand total ..	151,610	10	8	126,342	5	0

[1] Articles, such as sugar and arrack, in which the Company permitted its servants, etc., free trade on its own ships. Other articles, such as spices, pepper, Japan copper, were Company's monopolies. The "ship-people" are the ships' officers of Company's ships. The "monopolists" were apparently officials.

From this appears among other things that a profit of Rs. 54,722–9–0 was made on powder and candy sugar alone, excluding the sugar of this year, the accounts of which will come in only on the last day of August. These are easy profits for the Company to make and the Company has as much right to them as others. Besides there are so many other articles of trade here which have been enumerated above, and on account of them buyers and sellers, large and small, swarm here, so that it is quite a pleasure to see how every one here, Jew, Moor, Canarin, Benyan, Malabary, even the officials of the Company down to the copyists and still lower classes, all trade the one more, the other less, the one in this and the other in something else, and make a subsistence by trading; which is very different from former times when monopoly so ruled here that almost everything was fish for the nets of the Administrator or his clients and the customs contractor dared not ask for the custom-duties so freely as at present now trade has been made free and open to all without restriction. This is the reason why the price paid for the farm of customs on imports and exports has since greatly increased and still increases annually. And why should not the Honourable Company buy and sell like others, especially articles in which it also trades? Partly for the sake of *the profits* it can make on them and to get back out of their profits as far as possible the percentage which the Administrator and the Second now enjoy on the Company's trade, and partly to make a good market for the other articles, besides spices and bar-copper, which the Company specially sends hither so far as the capacity of the ships allow, and to have some control over the prices so as to prevent the monopolists procuring these articles very cheap, and so being in a position to sell them cheaply again, and spoiling the market, and getting rid of their goods first; the result of which is that the Company is more or less compelled to follow the rates set by these private traders. Hence it has sometimes occurred to me that it might be better to compel the ship-people to deliver their "permitted" goods, which comprise just those articles in which the Company itself trades, viz., sugar and arrack, to the Company for a fixed average price on which they would be always sure to gain. However I am rather of opinion that the present system is better and more profitable for the ship-people, because at present, be the prices of the articles high, medium or low, they receive from the Company not only that which others would offer, but even more. At the same time it may be considered whether the Company, with whose ships these "permitted" goods are conveyed, might not have the preference at least when the bids are equal, without exactly being always held to giving something more than other people; which, however, I usually did in order to show the ship-people that by selling their "permitted" goods to the Company they were better off than by selling them to others [1].

Per abundantian I have placed among the appendices some extracts from letters and resolutions (Appendix No. 8) in which the real origin and revival of the present private trade is shown more in detail, trusting that they will make it clear with what good object [2] and success the same was started and has been continued hitherto

[1] The orders of the Batavia Government on this (MS. No. 1134) were: "The taking over for the Company of the 'permitted' cargoes of the ships' officers will remain on its present footing, the Commandeur being recommended to go to work in the matter according to the best of his judgment."

[2] Mr. Moens makes much of his virtue in leaving the private trade to the Company, but it is perhaps significant that in the year 1779-1780 the Company's profits on the old private trade were less than 19,000 guilders while the commissions of the Governor and the Second under the new system came to over 27,000 guilders (accounts in MS. No. 1136).

CHAPTER XIV.

COMPANY'S REVENUES.

I.—The Revenues of the Province of Paponetty and Fortress of Chettua.

These revenues are at present not enjoyed by the Company and will not be so long as the aforesaid province and fortress remain in the hands of the Nabob (Hyder Ali). We have described the revenues which we have lost through the invasion of the Nabob in a secret resolution, dated 5th March 1777, and also in a secret letter to Batavia of the 7th following, as well as under the headings Cranganore, Ayrur, Cartamana and the Payenchery Nairs in this Memorandum. I refer your Worship to these, and pass over to the revenues of other gardens and fields on this coast belonging to the Company.

II.—The Revenues of other Gardens and Fields.

In the chapter (X) dealing with the possessions of the Company we have already stated where they are situated and how they are scattered. These gardens and fields are leased out for Rs. 13,674 for a period of twenty consecutive years; which has been done purposely in order that the renters who are obliged not only to keep them in the same condition as they are but also to plant new trees in place of old and barren trees, should enjoy the newly-planted trees for some years for their trouble and expense and look after these fields or gardens attentively and carefully, knowing that they may keep them for at least twenty years.

But not all of them look after the Company's gardens and fields carefully. Some of the renters rather neglect than improve them. In order to check this the person in charge, who is usually called the "tree-teller," should be continually sent into the country, and moreover the gardens and fields should be specially inspected annually and a written report sent in so that you may know whether the gardens and fields are kept in good condition and trees are planted.

It is true that it requires labour and expense to plant cocoanut-trees here on account of the many cattle which are seen everywhere; it being well known that these animals like nothing better than young shoots of newly-grown cocoanut-trees and that as soon as a young tree has sustained a single bite it withers away and cannot recover its strength; so that if you wish to plant young cocoanut trees with some hope of success, you are obliged to have suitable hedges or fences put up through which the cattle cannot make their way.

The renters now and then apply for an abatement on the plea of an unprofitable year, or sometimes because some trees have been blown down, or on the ground that the crop on the field has been destroyed and eaten up by wild animals and cattle. You must refuse point-blank once for all; otherwise you will be constantly exposed to such requests. Besides it would be unreasonable that even if accidents have really taken place of which the Honourable Company is not in any way the direct cause, the Company should be put to loss on this account; for a renter, who takes gardens and fields on contract for so many consecutive years, makes allowances for weather and wind, rain and drought, profitable and unprofitable years. He also knows when the standing crop begins to ripen, takes according to the custom of the country precautions against animals; and is aware that if one year has been less profitable than usual he will be compensated by the extra good crops of another year; it is also sufficiently notorious that if it has been a bad year, the renters exaggerate greatly, while they do not say a word when the year has been specially good. The only thing one might do in their favour once in a way, without harm to the Company, on ascertaining that it really has been a bad year, is to give them

time to pay according to the shortness of the crop, but no abatement; and time ought not to be granted, unless it is absolutely necessary, in order not to make it a custom.

But when the Company itself is the cause of accidents, which cause loss, as has happened lately at Aycotta, Baypin and here near the town, where we had of necessity to cut down trees and level the ground, then it is but fair that the renters should be compensated proportionately.

There is also kept at the Secretariat a list of some plots of waste land which are given for cultivation for a greater or smaller number of years with the view of renting them out for the benefit of the Company when those years have passed. But here I must warn your Worship that at the extremity of Aycotta to the west, nature has made the land inaccessible owing to heavy mud. The native is always hankering after the acquisition of this land for cultivation, because it would make excellent arable land. But as the strength of the post of Aycotta would be much weakened, I must warn your Worship not to grant this plot of ground for cultivation and, in order that no one should secretly and gradually appropriate it (as the natives are accustomed to do) I have ordered the tree-teller specially to mention clearly in his annual report that this land is neither tilled nor cultivated, still less provided with dams.

III.—General Revenues and Tolls.

The revenues or tolls are publicly farmed out for each year on the last day of August and consist of the following:—

On Import and export duties of Cochin.
,, ,, ,, of Coilan (Quilon).
,, ,, ,, of Cranganore.
On export of slaves.
Beer-measure.
The town inn.
Sury (toddy, juice of the palm) and arrack (spirit made from molasses) within the town.
Sury and arrack outside the town.
Sury and arrack on the island of Baypin (Vypeen).
The tobacco revenue within and without town.
,, ,, ,, on the island of Bendurty.
,, ,, ,, at Cranganore.
,, tolls of the ferry at Baypin.
,, ,, ,, at Anjicaimal (Ernaculam).

With the exception of the export of slaves, these revenues were all contracted out last time and fetched Rs. 41,750. The import and export duties bring in most, and of these the king of Cochin enjoys half. It is really the farm of these duties that has been increasing every year in succession for some time; which proves that this place is flourishing through its imports and exports of merchandise, or at least is not going down, the more so when one takes into account that only 5 per cent. is paid, which attracts many traders here. The contractor's paying Rs. 24,800 after deducting expenses and payments to his servants means that at least Rs. 5,00,000 worth of goods must be imported or exported [1].

As so many strangers and traders arrive here and leave constantly, it is above all things necessary to take care that the contractor does not treat the traders rudely, but kindly and reasonably, because it greatly depends on this whether the place is attractive or otherwise to traders. On the other hand you must support the contractor strongly if he is denied that which is his due; the least concession would soon give rise to a decrease in this revenue, while it is natural for every trader to try and knock off as much from the toll as he possibly can.

Further you should always be careful who takes the customs farm and see that he is a well-known person. It is especially necessary not to allow servants of an

[1] The trade of Cochin port now exceeds sixty times five lakhs, but Mr. Moens of course does not reckon in the greatest part of the Cochin trade of his time, the Company's trade. The Company paid no dues (page 126 above).

Administrator or of a Second, or other persons holding appointments and of some influence to take the contract, as it sometimes happens that the community stands in awe of them, and the people dare not make complaint and you might not come to know of it if traders are badly treated. These contractors also sometimes try to obtain remissions, but I have once for all plainly warned them that they cannot reckon on getting any remission out of me as long as the Company itself is not the cause of the injury they pretend to have suffered. Since then I have had no more applications of this nature, and I am not aware that during my tenure of office a farmer of the Company's dues has lost anything. It would be well to remind them of this when the sales take place. Moreover no one should out of a wrong ambition, with the object of raising the contracts, force people either directly or indirectly to take a contract. I commend the zeal (and even find it necessary) which spurs on the contractors generally to take contracts and points out to them the chances and prospects they will and may have of making profits, assuring them at the same time of our reasonable support; but I do not think it acting in good faith to set people on to take them, or to force them secretly through other channels; for they and their sureties suffer and our noble Company is not served by the ruin of its subjects. The proceeds of the farms are so well known that those who are inclined to take them on contract will make the highest bid in order that no one else may get the better of them. In any case we cannot exact more than can really be given. It does not suit the Company to collect all dues itself; the duty on export of slaves, however, has now not been farmed out for some years running, but collected by the Fiscal, because for some time there were no bidders. In collecting the duty such precautions and care are used that the Company cannot be done out of a single farthing, but in fact enjoys everything it yields, as may be seen in detail in a resolution of the 16th September 1772 and in a letter written to Batavia under date 25th March 1773.

Now I pass over to another subject—Domestic economy.

CHAPTER XV.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

It is your duty to practise domestic economy, not only because it is so continually and strongly recommended to us, but also because domestic economy is so highly necessary that without it no household of whatever nature it may be can be maintained. But one must practise *a right* and not *a wrong* economy ; for this latter is just as injurious as the former is in the highest degree useful and necessary.

To give an instance, if for the sake of economy you should wish to reduce the military force and artillery to such an absolutely insufficient footing that towns, land fortresses, which you choose to keep, and conquests, from which you receive land revenue, could not be defended nor protected ; if you neglect the Company's fortification works so that the ditches around them get filled in, the walls crumble and are soaked by the rain till they crack, and cause other capital defects ; if you let the gun-carriages on the walls be spoilt by the penetrating air, rain and sunshine, do not have them tarred in due time, nor have others prepared in reserve ; if you have the gun-carriages covered with too thin iron, not proportioned to the shocks which they have to sustain according to their calibres ; finally if you neglect the buildings of the Company and, in a word, all the Company's property which requires to be maintained in good order until the buildings begin to fall in and the defects become irreparable, then in order to restore the above to a good condition, you must undertake expenditure so considerable that it is alarming to think of it, and thus would such pervert economy instead of being economical prove most ruinous. Economy does not exclude doing what is necessary, and I am of opinion it would be wrong to practise blind obedience in this matter. For we are supposed to possess a special and local knowledge of the circumstances of the places in which we are stationed. If therefore we receive certain instructions from higher authority with regard to something in the interests of economy, but we are convinced in our own minds that it would not really answer, or would have bad consequences and should yet obey (if this can be called obedience) then we should be obeying blindly, and even liable to punishment, or at least responsible for the consequences. I am of opinion that in such a case it would be our duty to point out respectfully, but at the same time fully, the reasons why the instructions cannot be carried out. Experience teaches that, if you act so, they will reflect again, and at least one has done one's duty. However by exercising judgment, and as the saying is, by give and take, you can save more than you would think, if you only mean business and treat the Company's affairs as your own.

Therefore by the so much recommended economy is to be understood that needful and nice care of the effects, buildings, administration and other interests of the Company, which we would have and practise in our own household ; just as a good economist with judgment and suitable frugality knows how to manage his own household much better with much less money than a hireling who is indifferent about it and who, when his bill is found fault with, maintains that it could not be managed with less ; while one who treats the affair as his own, of his own accord without requiring to be spurred on to it, practises with all good cheer and pleasure that right kind of economy with which the Company also is content, which consists in seeing—

(1) that everything is maintained in good condition by means of daily supervision and precautions and not neglected ;

(2) that when defects or decay are discovered they are set right as soon as possible ; because it can then be done at a small cost, unless there be defects, which require big repairs, but then one must be sure and convinced of both the bad condition and of the real necessity of such repairs ; to which end it is necessary to select commissioners on whom you can rely, and sometimes make personal inspections, which make the commissioners more attentive ;

(3) that what is made for a fixed price according to regulations or is repaired by contract for a sum agreed upon is done properly and answers the purpose; that more attention is paid to the sufficiency and durability of the work than to elegance; that it is not done in a careless manner, but good materials are used and no payment made before the work is examined and approved by skilful and trustworthy commissioners; and in order to make both the contractors and the commissioners more careful, you should occasionally inspect such works yourself not only after completion but also while they are being executed; for you cannot say what effect the presence of the head of the Settlements in person may produce, and it is not for nothing that the saying goes "the master's eye makes the horse fat";

(4) that when a work is executed at the expense of the Company without being given out on contract (for there may be works for which no contractor can be found) the bill is submitted and carefully checked, or at least so far as it can be checked from experience, viz., in respect of whether the materials which are entered in the bill have been really used, and had to be used for the work; and when you detect signs of large calculation, the person concerned should be made to understand the dishonesty of his action and compelled, after a strong admonition or correction, as the case may be, to submit a revised bill;

(5) that no expenditure whatever is incurred on behalf of the Company except such as is really necessary and unavoidable; so that you should not let any money be paid out of the Company's treasury without having been aware of the necessity of the work; just as the private individual paying his own money for something is aware that he has had what was necessary in view. At least a good economist who has a house built, or has it repaired, or who keeps an eye on his household, or trades, and has a bill for one thing or another sent in to him, will act in this manner and not otherwise.

Supposing we form a Company with some other persons for trading purposes; that with this end in view we have some vessels here and there, some warehouses and factors or agents at the places to which we send our goods and have goods bought; that we give certain emoluments to these factors or agents, be it a fixed salary or commission, provided they keep proper accounts, etc.: I ask without prejudice whether we, when checking the bills, would allow our agents, whom we pay in all honesty and to whom besides this we afford every opportunity of making a little profit in our service, to cheat us either in repairing our vessels and warehouses or in our trade, and whether we would not carefully examine whether these repairs could not have been done at less cost, whether the goods despatched have been sold in reality for, and those purchased have been really bought for, what is stated in the accounts? What factors or agents would find fault with us for doing so? Such factors and agents of the Company are we, and besides our fixed salary from the Company, we have also other income, one more the other less, according to position. For this reason the Company rightly claims that we should serve it as honestly and economically as the employees of a private employer serve him.

If our Company were served everywhere in this manner it could not fail to do well on the whole, and the greater or less success of its undertakings in particular cases would depend only on the greater or less intelligence, clear-headedness and judgment of one official as compared with another; for Providence has not given every one equal talent.

It is true that it cannot be required of one who has the supreme authority in a place to inspect everything himself, but that idea of "authority" is only self-inflation. How many a gentleman of the highest station and plentiful means, who has a house built or a garden laid out, does not want to inspect the work himself occasionally? I will even admit that it is desirable, and ought to be the case, for an Administrator in Chief to be able to satisfy himself by merely having everything reported to him and deciding in accordance with these reports, like a man who has a good watch and gets each wheel go its own way, and, when he notices that the time-piece is going too fast or too slow, merely sets it a little backward or forward. I repeat it would be desirable if the Company's administration could be carried on like

that; if all the reports could be relied on with safety; if each wheel would do its work properly; if every one did his work as he is supposed to; but experience teaches that even with the most careful supervision and with a hawk's eye on everything, abuses cannot be prevented entirely. On the other hand you ought to be glad to see the sun shining on the water, as the saying, and your people making some profit in their respective services by industry, judgment and thrift, even offering them a helping hand, provided you do not permit the Company to be the loser.[1]

I have just spoken about works and repairs, which are done for the Company, either according to the conditions of regulations [2], or on contract for an agreed sum. I have more to say about this.

With regard to the regulations I wish to state that most of the disbursements here, although not all, and daily requirements, besides the bills or specifications submitted by the subordinate officials, used to be dealt with rather arbitrarily or, to say the least, irregularly and not on any fixed plan, and sometimes in such a way that you could not make head or tail of them, whilst in those things the cost of which was fixed by regulation something more could be knocked off on proper consideration. Therefore I made careful enquiries for how much a thing could on the one hand really be done and on the other hand for how much it really could not be done. Thereupon I drew up regulations in which a fixed scale was laid down for every item as far as possible, both here at the out-factories, according to which disbursements and bills could be calculated. Every subordinate official now knows how to act in his administration, and they come out all right, since the estimates are not cut down to the lowest possible figure. For as the Divine Law forbids us to muzzle the ox that is treading the corn, so also a servant of the Company ought not and cannot be so strictly bound down, that he should not make a little profit by thrift and judgment within the limits of that which is tolerable and a good conscience will not reproach him for. These regulations were introduced by a resolution of the 16th September 1772 and inserted word for word and have also been approved by their Right Worshipfuls in a letter dated 30th September 1773.

In the regulations for the Superintendent of Artillery there is something I should mention here. In the construction of gun-carriages there used to be nothing fixed and the gun-carriages, large and small, cost the Company without the iron plating on an average more than Rs. 100, which I thought was too much, and rightly, as the event showed. For since then people have agreed to build them of the strongest and most lasting wood in existence here, named teakwood, for Rs. 50 on an average. Each part is calculated separately; for sometimes a gun-carriage is still in good condition, and only requires a new axle or wheel. We now pay Rs. 20 for a gun-carriage without axle or wheels, for an axle Rs. 5, and for a wheel Rs. 12½.

But as I had sometimes noticed that the sides were not sufficiently curved or broad enough for the calibre, and also that cracked wood had been used (which might happen again because narrow and cracked wood does not cost so much as broad and sound wood), orders have been issued once for all, in order to make sure that gun-carriages are built not only according to the required measurement, but also of good and sound wood, not to pay for any gun-carriage either entirely or in part before it has been specially examined by competent officers with reference to the model of each calibre and the wood itself has been carefully inspected. After approval and not before, it was to be branded with an iron. This is done because the others at the smithy are not to accept any unbranded artillery articles, still less to plate them. A written report of the inspection is meanwhile sent in, on the back of which the order to pay is written and signed. This procedure should be maintained; otherwise there will be danger of gun-carriages being made which could not stand 25 shots and would get their strength only from the iron plating.

In the regulations for the smithy there is also something which I cannot pass over without mention. In these rules the amount of iron required for the plating of

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[1] That is, the Company allowed a small margin of profit to its employees. It expected their accounts to be reasonable rather than exact.

Compare the remarks on gunny bags in Chapter XII, page 216 above.

[2] The "regulations" for the Company's servants fixed certain maximum limits of charges they might make and their commissions.

the gun-carriages is laid down according to the calibre, because this matter too used to be so arbitrarily dealt with that almost twice as much iron was used or charged for as was necessary.

But in order to prevent too little iron, or less iron than the regulation allows, being used (and nevertheless the regulation quantity being brought to account) which might render a gun-carriage as good as useless, attention must be paid to the point; for the supervision of ordinary delegates is not always sufficient. The delegates must be continually recommended in all earnestness (although such things cannot be so precisely measured while the work is being done and a pound more or less does not matter) not to allow the iron to be rivetted to the gun-carriages before they have seen it weighed, and as this is a matter of great importance, it would not be amiss, in order to make the delegates and the overseer of the smithy more attentive and careful, to have an iron plating occasionally weighed by extraordinary delegates or have it taken off a gun-carriage and reweighed. This need not be done at all often, if only it is done now and then unexpectedly, so that they cannot know when it will be done.

Cases, however, may occur which either escaped notice when the regulations were drawn up or have newly occurred since the regulations were introduced. But it goes without saying that in such cases further rates should be fixed as has really been done from time to time in Resolutions by way of amplification of those regulations. All these regulations, besides the amplifications since made, are to be found in a separate bundle kept at the Secretariat.

There may also be cases in which in course of time, on account of dearth or on a rise in price of materials and other necessaries, the rate laid down proves to be too low. But if one is convinced of this, then it is only fair to grant a temporary increase, but, only by Resolution, and on condition that the increased rate ceases to be in force with cessation of the cause of the change. However, I have not yet been compelled to do this and any change in the regulations should be avoided as long as possible, for otherwise one would be continually worried with all kinds of applications.

Further one ought to take care that the bills are first submitted to the Commercial Office, examined by the Chief Administrator (Second in Council), and compared with the instructions or regulations, in order that it may be seen whether they are entirely in accordance with them; at least I always insisted on the Chief Administrator noting in the margin of each item *conforms* either *with the regulations* or with *the written instructions*, as the case may be, and attesting with his signature.

But since there are items which cannot be checked with the regulations or instructions, and are only vouched for by the Administrators according to the best of their belief and by the side of which the Chief Administrator cannot put down anything else but "*according to statement*", such items I say ought to be examined more carefully, or rather one ought to issue such orders that no extravagances can take place, *e.g.*, in the case of the artillery bills for the firing of salutes, which salutes should be compared with the diary, where the number of ships which arrive and depart daily is always recorded.

But as not all ships fire salutes, and according to a Batavia Resolution of 24th May 1772 no salutes are returned except those of the King's ships, those of the English Company's ships and those of ships which sail under our flag, I have since issued an order that whenever salutes are fired or returned it should be noted down at the Main-watch in a note-book, the number of ships being specified (for the Main-watch has always to report on these matters); further this note-book must be submitted to the Chief Administrator, when the bills are presented, in order that he may see whether the number of salutes agrees with the reports of the Main-watch, in which case "*agrees*" with the reports of the chief guard must be entered in the margin.

Still another instance from the Marine Purser. The Purser Marine has a fixed number of coolies, or rather he is allowed by regulation to use daily a certain number of native sailors and coolies for ship and wharf work besides loading and unloading ships and the regular despatch of necessaries to the out-posts along the river.

If he goes to work with judgment and only employs a sufficiency of native sailors and coolies according as the work is much or little, he can easily manage in accordance with the regulation, but when more consignments of necessaries than usual have to be despatched to the out-posts, as has happened since the Nabob invaded our territory and many more men are stationed at Cranganore and Ayeotta than before, on account of which the amounts of provisions and ammunition conveyed over the river have constantly been very much larger than before, it stands to reason, as the said regulations are calculated on and meant for ordinary and not extraordinary circumstances, that the Purser may bill for extra coolies on that account, provided he specifies how many each time and also on which day. But in order to be assured that not too many coolies are billed for, the Chief Administrator ought to compare these items with the lists of articles successively despatched, from which he may not only check the dates, but also see that the number of coolies entered is more or less proportioned to the size of the vessels or to the dimensions and quantity of goods despatched, as specified in the lists. The head of the settlements should also to do this occasionally, but since the establishment of the Cranganore camp has been reduced, the extraordinary consignments thither have also shrunk.

There may be other cases in which no direct check with the regulations or instructions is possible in which you can apply simple checks such as have just been mentioned. Moreover when one has some experience and the will to watch these things properly, it is easy enough to see whether the margins are too large.

As regards repairing and constructing buildings or works by contract, I prefer this to other ways of working, although I am of opinion that for some time to come there should be no work of any importance to do and so no contract need be made for some time, if the fortifications and buildings of the Company are properly looked after and kept in good repair, unless something new has to be constructed in extraordinary circumstances or on necessity occurring. I say that I prefer a contract to other ways of working, provided such care and supervision are exercised as I here mentioned before, because the work is then sooner finished and costs the Company less than otherwise. I say *sooner* because it is in the interest of the contractor to make his men work industriously; and *cheaper* because it is also the interest of the contractor that no more mechanics and coolies, and no more material should be employed and paid for than is really necessary, and the contractors make their estimates accordingly, while work done at the expense of the Company is not so carefully looked after, but rather gives an opportunity to the officer who supervises the work and sends in the bill for it to get something out of it, if he is a little greedy. On the contrary contract work has been closely calculated by several persons, that is, by as many as had a mind to take it, let alone that experience teaches but too often that work done departmentally and not by contract is sometimes worse and less lasting than work given on contract. Many, and among them very important works and repairs, have been successfully executed here on contract in a short time, and as cheaply as they possibly can be or ever have been executed departmentally, and yet the contractors have to acknowledge that during that time they turned a good penny by care and close supervision, while the Company was at the same time served quite cheaply and quick.

Should you wish to see works taken on contract for as little as is possible, you should meet the contractors to some extent with regard to the materials, and when they are not well off advance them some money from your own pocket little by little as the work progresses; for otherwise such people have to take money at interest. At any rate I have always helped them more or less in this manner. It can be easily done by the head of a settlement, who seldom holds his post permanently and so cannot easily put his ready money out at interest, but keeps it with him. Intending contractors may also be assured before they take up a contract that if they take a work up at a reasonable price, they may expect every assistance, which we have it in our power to give; which promise must then of course be kept.

Under the heading "Economy" I ought also to mention the greater expenses of the establishment, which have been absolutely necessary since the Nabob's invasion of our territory. It is a general rule that extraordinary cases require extraordinary measures, but it is also a general rule that when the cause ceases, the effect ceases.

Hence I have already started reducing several extraordinary items of outlay and expenditure as much as circumstances allowed, and when there is no more reason for maintaining ourselves in the same state of defence as at present, it goes without saying that everything must be restored to the old footing.

From all this it is clear then that what is expected from us is not perverted but that sound economy, which is necessary in all administrations, and every man would practise in his own household.

Good management is of great importance to the Company; good servants are also of great, and even greater importance.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

Good service and good servants are bound up with one another as effect and cause. Hence it is a truth beyond dispute that where the best servants are there things are done best. You cannot therefore pay too much attention to making the servants efficient or, if they are efficient, to making proper use of them for the work they are best fitted for. For it is in itself a necessary quality in the Chief of a Settlement that for the execution of anything in particular he knows how to select the persons, who, be they more or less efficient, are best fitted for that thing in particular. Experience has taught more than once that if a mistake is made in this, the most important enterprises miscarry and end in loss. Above all a servant ought also to be honest, for although this quality does not exactly predominate throughout the world: nor will so long as the world endures, which is why so many laws, ordinances and regulations are made and precautions taken which otherwise would not be required—yet there are still honest, upright and true-hearted servants and it is specially these that should be considered.

But just as it is necessary to employ and promote good servants, because reward is the greatest incentive to virtue, it is equally harmful to pass over good servants because it discourages them and you will not get good service from them, let alone that such people sometimes go wrong out of discontent and are easily induced to desert to see whether their merits will not be better appreciated by others. Of this Malabar has had experience in the case of the well-known Lanoy and Duyvenschot. These men not only understood their military duties and were well-conducted men, but had besides a fairly good knowledge of fortification and the art of war, having served in Europe and gained some experience. They could not however rise above the post of Sergeant in the Company's service and several times found less efficient men going over their heads, so that first the one and then the other enlisted in the army of the king of Travancore, and in that well-known, and I may well say ruinous, Travancore war in which the Company lost so many men and so much money, showed of what use they could be to Travancore and how much harm they could do us. Lanoy grew gray in the service of the king and only died in the beginning of the year 1777, that is, shortly after the Nabob had invaded our territory and he (Lanoy) had given the finishing touches to the Travancore northern lines. I do not praise their desertion; on the contrary I blame it as strongly as possible, because they were guilty of the worst kind of desertion, besides they are not the only people who were efficient and yet superseded; which happens occasionally all the world over, and one cannot allow oneself to be bound down at all times in the matter of promotions. I even think that you may sometimes promote a somewhat less efficient person without giving offence to the more efficient. I only mean it must not happen too often, and I have only quoted the examples of Lanoy and Duyvenschot to prove of what consequence it may be.[1]

I shall not write a special account of the servants of this place, the more so as I have nothing particular to say about them and they are like people elsewhere, the one more, the other less efficient and honest, and soon come out in their true colours. Each place has in general its abuses, bad customs and evil practices, let alone the ugly special instances, and if one does not take precautions, everything goes wrong as before, and then one man may be a little smarter than another in dealing with the situation; but it seems to me that in the matter of servants much depends on the first servant, that is, the Chief of the Settlements himself. For if he set a good example in everything, and himself does nothing which the whole world may not know, and so need not be afraid of any one, is conscientious in his work, treats every

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[1] Ex-Sergeant Duyvenschot took a leading part on the Travancore side in the war with Travancore of 1739-42 (see note on page 83 above). Lanoy served Travancore for 37 years from 1740 A.D. to 1777, when he died at the age of 62 (see page 25 above). They both commanded the Travancore armies.

one severely or kindly according to his merits, and before all has a head on his shoulders, then those who would like to commit malpractices will think twice before doing so.

Further a Chief, especially at the beginning of his term of office, should not believe all he hears in favour of or against a person, before he knows every one a little better. For this is that dangerous cliff against which one may miserably founder, namely, being taken in by bad people and on the contrary suspecting good people, through which one loses the good services of the latter and is led astray by the former, only discovering the truth too late on closer acquaintance. For what he is like inside is not written on anyone's face, and experience teaches that you sometimes find something in a person, which you would not have expected from him before. It is especially necessary for a Chief to remember that he was once a smaller man himself and found by experience what was pleasant and unpleasant to him in those days; then he will treat his subordinates as he would at that time have wished to have been treated; then he will, on account of his duty, not tolerate anything improper and will punish where there is need of punishment, but he will not bully any one, nor bear ill-will, but will forget what has happened and not allow anybody to go about his work in despair. For although every one must adapt himself to his Chief, yet I think a Chief should adapt himself a little to the nature of his servants, at least treat them according to their nature; for there are people who will not let themselves be managed except by severity and harshness, while there are others who cannot bear a reproach and are at once humiliated and abashed. What a mistake it would be to treat both classes alike!

In truth a Chief who attends to his business will learn to know his servants sooner and better than any one can inform him; and though I have had no particular reason for complaint about the servants here, yet I am sorry to have to warn your Worship that the spirit of the notorious Peter Isaacs of this place, who lately died at Tellicherry, is not yet entirely gone. I have taken care as far as possible to prevent abuses, but since I have at the same time found how necessary it is to keep a careful eye on everything, I have thought it my duty to mention the matter to your Worship in order that your Worship may be on your guard.

Many frauds have been practised on the Company, but I do not believe that a greater piece of roguery was ever committed anywhere than in this place by this Isaacs, and the case may well serve as a beacon in the sea and a warning to the Chief of any Settlement. It is not exactly pleasant to have the name of being a Paul Pry, but if one is not particular and gets lost in such a pitiful labyrinth as Commandeur Weijerman, in whose term of office this fraud was discovered and who, in fact innocently, not being prepared for such a piece of roguery, was brought to a plight in which his honour and substance were exposed to the greatest danger; of what help is then that so-called good name of not having been so prying as another? Is it not better to bear that honourable name of reproach for doing your duty and escape from such a labyrinth? For you may say what you will of this case, but it cannot be denied that the fraud must have taken place some years before, and if the Commandeurs had been a little more attentive to the treasury balances, or had given heed to the expensive and squandering way of living both of this Isaacs and of others whom he served, then it is inconceivable that they should not have observed anything or entertained any suspicion; for it seems still more incomprehensible to me that Isaacs should have acted alone, because in any case he was no conjuror and the money could not walk out of the treasury by itself nor the goods out of the warehouses.

Since this case is such a striking and peculiar one, I have had the passages about it in our correspondence with Batavia extracted and attached in an appendix marked No. 9. The case may be studied connectedly in these documents and it will at the same time appear how long the enquiry into this affair lasted and how I have had the pleasure of seeing the end of it during my tenure of office; the immediate honour of which result must be ascribed to the then Chief Administrator and present Director of Surat, Councillor Extraordinary Mr. Van de Graaff.[1]

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[1] W. J. Van de Graaff, afterwards Governor of Ceylon and Member of Council, Batavia. His second wife was a daughter of J. G. Van Angelbeek, to whom this memoir is addressed, and a daughter by this marriage was married in Ceylon in 1802 to a son of the sixth Earl of Leven and Melville (Anthonisz, Report on Ceylon Dutch Records, p. 36).

I shall also specially mention here for your Worship's information what precautions I have employed in order to make it impossible for such tricks to be played any more, in my opinion, even if Peter Isaacs and his gang were here still.

During Isaacs' time the balances of the small treasury were not only much larger than the disbursement, even of a whole year, but also as a rule much larger than the balances of the big treasury, so much so that money had sometimes to be transferred from the small to the big chest when payments had to be made to Travancore for pepper; which were always made from the big treasury.

The balances of the store were also exceedingly large, although nothing else is paid from it but officers' pay, whilst even the messing allowances and everything except pay is paid out of the small chest. As the balances of the small chest and store were so large it is thought that Isaacs, as commercial paymaster and the officer to whom the work of the commercial bureau was entrusted, had a better opportunity than he would have had otherwise to conspire with the cashiers and store-keepers, or at least to manipulate the chest and store accounts.

It is not exactly possible to limit cashiers and shop-keepers so strictly with regard to the balances that at the close of the month nothing would remain, but that is not necessary either as long as the balances are not too large, as each person gives security for his administration, but you can as a rule easily calculate how much a cashier receives every month from the proceeds of the land revenue or other ordinary items, and how much he and the store-keeper have to disburse for ordinary expenses, and then allow something more for extraordinary disbursements from the chest, and for payments at the store of extra "months," or deferred pay; and I have always arranged payments from the big chest to the small chest and at the same time to the store (for the store-keeper receives his money from the cashier) in accordance with these considerations.

But as I had also heard that orders to pay had been erased or altered after they had been signed at the small chest, I have always kept three little counter-registers—one for the big chest, one for the small chest and one for the store, and never signed an order of receipt or payment without having it numbered and entering the amount of that order with its number in my little counter-registers, which can be done in a single line. I then annually, when the accounts were closed, compared the chest and store accounts, and also the orders, with my little counter-registers; in this way I could always detect the slightest difference by a single glance at the total amount of disbursements and receipts; so that I had no cause for uneasiness about alteration of orders, accounts or vouchers.

And since it is thought that the accounts or vouchers of the subordinate administrators, which are calculated in goods and not in money, were in those days also altered occasionally (or leaves were inserted in them) after they had been approved and signed, I issued an order that vouchers containing erasions were on no account to be accepted and that those received should be run through with a thread and sealed with the stamp of the Chief Administrator, so that if any subordinate administrator wished to corrupt the commercial paymaster, or the employees at the commercial office who have to deal with these papers daily, and the latter durst venture to make some changes therein by means of erasures or interleaving, it could not be done now.

It appeared also that the proceeds of the Company's sales had been embezzled here and not accounted for. For although the Chief knows about the sales, and they cannot be held without his being specially informed, yet something may easily escape his memory after the proceeds, which do not always come in directly the usual six weeks have passed, are received. For this reason I have always desired that the sale list should be shown to me after the sales, when I made a note in a little note-book of the date of the sale and the proceeds in order that when the usual time had passed and the treasury order had not been submitted to me for signature, I might remember and in case of necessity issue orders.

From the history of Isaacs' case it also appears that the books from here did not always agree with those which were forwarded to Batavia, at least it was found at Batavia from the books of 1761–62 that the king of Travancore was debited for the

considerable amount of 538,603-6-8 guilders and in a letter from Batavia of 25th October 1763 the reason of this was asked, and after the matter had been looked up in the books here by special commissioners, Batavia was informed by letter of 28th March 1764 that Travancore's debt according to the books here was only 80,878-13 gld. Thereupon it was further discovered at Batavia that the opening balance of 1762-63 did not agree with the closing balance of the books of 1761-62, the opening balance being 557,259-2-0 gld. less; so that it is supposed that Isaacs had managed, after the accounts had been closed and the opening and the closing balances compared, to change the set of books, which had to be forwarded to Batavia. On this account the High Indian Government by resolution dated 19th April 1765 resolved to circulate an order through the whole of India regarding the comparison of the opening balances of the commercial books, before copies thereof were sent to Batavia, with the closing balances of the previous year. So after the accounts have been closed, I have always compared the opening and closing balances with the Chief Administrator and usually at home. I was assisted in this by the present Secretary and former first clerk Daimichen, who understands the work of the commercial office, in order that I might not go wrong in comparing the accounts or make any mistake. Even this did not satisfy me, and in order to prevent the set to be forwarded to Batavia being changed in the meantime, I sealed the set that had been compared with my private stamp and handed it over so for despatch to Batavia.

I readily admit that it is sad to have to make use of such precautions and that some Chief Administrators would be somewhat offended at the books being sealed and delivered in this state for despatch immediately after comparison just as though you would not trust them in their hands for a moment longer, but what can be done when you know that such things were formerly done here? Besides I trusted that the Chief Administrators would be reasonable enough to understand that such a precaution serves as a protection for themselves, as they are the keepers of the accounts When I came here the commercial books were, as is well known, three years in arrear. With much pains and by having the work done at my own house, the accounts were squared next year. I leave it to the judgment of every one whether I—who had neither special nor local knowledge of Malabar, but had already heard in Ceylon of the fraud in the commercial books and found here that the books were three years in arrear—could take charge without great anxiety. I acknowledge willingly that possibly I took charge with a little too much uneasiness, but when the books in arrear had been closed and the aforesaid precautions taken by me, it was as though a weight had fallen off my mind; therefore I have since continued to take these precautions, and I advise every Chief here, as sincerely and meaning as well by him as if he were my own brother, to do the same always and not to drop it for anything in the world. No one can take this amiss, not even a Chief Administrator, if he has any proper feeling. When Mr. van de Graaff came here as Chief Administrator, I had already long had the honour of his Worship's acquaintance in Ceylon, and I knew him well enough to have every confidence in his Worship, but I explained to his Worship that I thought it necessary and had firmly resolved never to forward books to Batavia without their having been sealed immediately after the confrontation, and was glad to hear him answer heartily that if he were in my place he would do just the same; and his successor, the present Chief Administrator van Harn too, has never put a wrong construction on these precautions, but has declared to me more than once that they conduced greatly to his peace of mind.

I have thought it my duty to mention all this in this chapter, and I only wish to add that just as the conduct of the servants, as has been said already, depends much on the Chief himself, in the same way it also depends much on the maintenance of religion and justice, as being the two pillars on which rest all kingdoms, countries, cities and communities and without which every thing would collapse; since they teach and practise reward to the good and punishment to the wicked.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELIGION AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

Religion is in itself not only the source of all temporal and eternal blessings, but also the chief foundation of a happy government; because it binds the governing body and the subject to one another and both to the Supreme Being with the strongest ties, so that you can neither maintain it too steadfastly nor too strongly support it, nor contribute too much to its prosperity; the more so as religion is treated, I may well say, all too much *telle-quelle* (indifferently) in these regions and things would be even worse, if the Chief were also indifferent, as he is able to do much, and indeed very much, and therefore it is also his duty:—

(1) To attend public worship regularly himself, and by doing so set a good example to the community; and I remember how in the Netherlands the churches in the country are more or less full usually according as the lord of the manor goes to church or not. It is true that it is not the righteous who go to church to please their betters and not to please God, but going to church somehow or other is in any case better than not going at all, since people, when God's word is preached, may easily be drawn and allured to the practice of virtue and duty.

(2) To stand up for the good cause publicly and show one's partiality for those that excel in learning and virtue. For it often falls to the lot of modest men of learning to be objects of jealousy or contempt to the mob. This will take place less frequently if it is known that the Chief of the Settlements is well inclined to such persons, and it will serve a good purpose in any case. For although some may become less public or less scandalous in their conduct and pretend to behave modestly more with the object of pleasing the Chief than out of real love for virtue, such persons will in that case be injuring only themselves and not their neighbours.

(3) To give a fair field to the Teachers and even encourage them always to have recourse confidently to you; to listen to them kindly, when they want assistance for the purposes of religion or the church; and to show friendliness to them and hold them in due respect. One sees the most uncivilised people usually bearing their clergy a peculiar respect, while in India people are sometimes not ashamed to say and do things in their presence which would be improper even in their absence, let alone calling them vulgar nick-names, so much so that they will with the same tranquillity call a Preacher "Paap" and a Krankenbezoeker[1] "domine". So if a Chief does not support the Preachers, they would at times be treated contemptuously and have to go about their work in despondency. It is true, and I cannot deny it, that Preachers are to be found in India, who lead a scandalous life and are to their shame given over to drink or an immoral life or an unbecoming coveteousness; but should the good suffer for the bad? Should a single degenerate Judas make us lose respect for all the other Apostles? Although it has often been the misfortune of the clergy that the enemies of religion have for the defects of a few treated alike that whole reverend body, yet I, on the contrary, am of opinion that you cannot sufficiently support honest preachers, and that if you do, you will find it all the easier to treat the unworthy according to the standing orders on this subject.

(4) To take care that the sailors, infantry and gunners are marched to church in an orderly manner every Sunday, and that when the military are in barracks or in the field, a psalm is sung and night prayers are said every evening. For people who are usually rough, but are compelled for a moment to listen to God's word or to prayer, then at all events hear the name of the Lord—which is often taken in vain by them without thinking—invoked in that solemn manner, which must excite in them more or less respect for the Supreme Being. It is also an excellent thing when the night prayers are finished for the Krankenbezoeker or whoever says them to go on to the hospital in order to speak a word of comfort to the sick and there also

[1] *Krankenbezoeker*—visitor of the sick; an inferior member of the ecclesiastical establishment (see page 32 above). Anglo-Indians continue to exhibit the levity which shocked Mr. Moens in Hollando-Indians; they call their chaplains by the vulgar nickname of "padre" from the Portuguese for Father (priest) "with the same tranquillity" as the Dutch called theirs "Paap" (Roman Catholic priest).

say the night prayers; which things, after having been neglected here for some time, have been introduced again. Finally, you should also take care that the Sunday should not be desecrated, but that on that day, which is set apart from a general to a particular use, all public trades and crafts are suspended—necessary cases and extraordinary circumstances excepted—so that everywhere, in and outside the town, you may see it is Sunday; that during the service no shouting is heard along the streets, that shops and stalls are closed, and especially that near the church everything is, as the saying is, as quiet as a mouse. It must not be thought that these are trifles, about which a Chief need not trouble himself. In a certain sense they are trifles, about which orders are only issued according to circumstances in different places, but who can deny that such things are not seldom lost sight of little by little, and that little difference can sometimes be seen between Sunday and working days?

Really one cannot say what a Chief, if he is in earnest about it, may not contribute to the prosperity of religion, especially in these degenerate days, in which corrupted morals and indifference to religion are perhaps more rampant than they have ever been before; wherefore we have reason to thank God that He has at a happy moment aroused that distinguished body, the Government of Batavia, to form a Society of Sciences, which has for its object the honour of God and the good of humanity. While now we have already the pleasant experience that at Batavia special supervision is exercised over all the houses of God and schools throughout the whole of India, and so are assured that efficacious support may be expected from the High Government with regard to religion in general and the training of the young in particular, a Chief must yet not fail to enquire now and then whether the *scholarchs* (School Board), who exercise supervision over the schools here, pay proper attention that the teaching both in the private schools and in the orphanage is done well and properly; because the first instructions are as it were the prime dye laid on the young; so that much depends on whether they are laid well or not.

In what manner now public worship is practised here and all that further relates to it I have already mentioned in chapter IX, so that I have only to add a few words about the two houses of God here, viz., the orphanage and the leper hospital. With regard to the orphan court, the funds of which do not amount even to 14,000 rupees, there is nothing special to say.

The Orphanage.

The orphanage here is now a neat and decent building, in which poor children who have lost their parents are educated at the expense of the Board of Deacons. One ought however to take care that all sorts of children are not admitted, but only children of European parentage, and especially of parents who belonged to our religion; because the majority of the people here are Roman Catholics and it swarms with Roman Catholic churches here, which are more concerned than we, to my thinking, with bringing up Roman Catholic children; and so also I have particularly instructed the Deacons to give special preference to our co-religionists in the distribution of charitable gifts; for although it is our duty to be charitable to all, we are also taught that charity must be shown most to those who are of our own faith.

In case it happens that children of Roman Catholic parents are admitted into the orphanage, and having grown up, either of their own accord or through persuasion of their relations, embrace the Roman Catholic religion—which cannot becomingly be hindered, because we do not wish to exercise constraint of conscience—one ought to warn such children and their relations beforehand, that when once they have been educated in our religion at the expense of our Board of Deacons and afterwards abandon the same, they will be bound to make restitution of the expenses of their education; and they should in fact be compelled to do this. Formerly this was the custom, but it has gradually been lost sight of; and so the rule is again commended to the Deacons for observation.

One ought also not lightly to allow children of illegitimate birth to be admitted into the orphanage; for then the orphanage would soon be full of these children and lose its lustre; it is at present a very respectable institution; the orphans are white

children well brought up, and learn what is necessary to be able to keep house and present such a decent appearance that no one here need be ashamed to ask an orphan girl in marriage.

The boys, after they have received the necessary education, ought to be made to go to sea or to learn a trade to which they are most inclined outside, partly to prevent impropriety; for the orphanage here is not so large that they can be so completely separated as in Netherlands; and partly because the funds of the Board of Deacons do not allow of the boys remaining long in the orphanage. For further information with regard to this charitable institution I beg to refer to the rules which I have made and which have been embodied and may be found in a resolution of the 30th September 1779.

The Leper Asylum.

The leper house on the island of Baypin[1], half an hour from Ayeotta along the river, is a boarding house or hospital, where people who are contaminated with Indian leprosy are housed and supported. This contagious disease prevails here more than in other places of India, both among the natives and strangers, and even Europeans, but not the Jews, among whom hardly a case is to be found. This they ascribe to their abstention from pork and the strict observation of the law of purification as laid down in 15 Lev. This wretched disease early finds its way into the bodies of some people here in such a way that at the incipient stage special knowledge and experience are required to detect it; for which reason the households of this town were formerly visited every year by a surgeon.

Meanwhile I noticed that this miserable disease was becoming more and more prevalent here again, and that some who had it in an incipient form escaped notice and even mixed with others in society and did not live—as can be done easily here without inconvenience—segregated outside the town. I accordingly again introduced the annual commission of inspection, and in order that it might give as little offence as possible, I issued at the same time a permanent order that when wardmasters draw up their annual report on families and wards—when each person must in any case appear and show himself—the Upper Surgeon of the Dutch hospital besides the native doctor (*i.e.*, doctor for natives) must be present at that inspection in order to examine *en passant* everyone including slaves, and make a separate report of their inspection so that lepers can be segregated. Further details will be found in a resolution of 13th August 1772.

The commission of inspection has been held every year to date and so the town is now again free from such infected persons. The commission must not be allowed to fall again into desuetude.

This leper-house has a special fund for itself which used to be under special trustees, but my predecessor placed it under the management of the Deacons, who have exercised hitherto a good and careful supervision, and I may say better supervision than before.

While it is so necessary for the welfare of land and people to maintain religion and whatever else relates "ad pios usus", just as necessary is the maintenance of justice.

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[1] At Palliport; still maintained by the British Government (See page 82 above).

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

According as justice is properly administered at any place public crimes will decrease, every man will feel the more confidently assured of his possessions, or venture the more confidently to seek his rights, if he thinks he has been offended or is owed anything.

The Court of Justice here consists of the Second-in-Council-and-Chief-Administrator as President, with most of the members of the Political Council and some other members of the services as members; which Court, as everywhere in India, decides and grants execution both in criminal and civil matters, in the name and on behalf of Their High Mightinesses (*i.e.*, the States-General in Holland).

We have here a subordinate court also named the Civil Court or Court of Small Causes, consisting of one of the members of the Political Council here as President and some officers of inferior standing as members.

In the commission given to Governors, Directors and Commandeurs, at least in the one given to me, it is among other things specially ordered that care be taken that right and justice be administered among the people both in criminal and in civil cases. Formerly the Chiefs of Settlements used to preside in the Court of Justice as well as in the Political Council, but since the well-known case at Ceylon in the time of the late Mr. Vuyst,[1] they are for good reasons excused from the presidency of the Court of Justice, which is now conferred upon the Seconds (in Council) with orders that the Chiefs should in future not interfere with the administration of justice except that they must approve of (the decisions in) criminal cases with advice of the Council, or if they feel a difficulty in doing so, they may stay execution of the sentence, and send the papers relating to the case to Batavia at the first opportunity.[2]

It may perhaps be thought that a Chief, although he sees that abuses and even great abuses occur in the Courts, and may wish in view of his commission to see to the administration of justice, and so interfere in judicial matters, is not allowed to do the latter and so is also forbidden to see to the administration of justice, and may in fact, under the above-mentioned later order, which was issued long after the form of commission for the Chiefs or Governors was drawn up, decline to trouble himself as to whether justice is done or not. But I am, on the contrary, of opinion that the said further order does not so much abrogate the instructions in the commission as more clearly define them under certain restrictions, which are, however, not so strict but that a Chief, who really has the cause of righteousness at heart, should not see that justice is properly administered merely because he is removed from the Presidency of the Court of Justice. It is rather his clear duty, because in his position he to a certain extent represents the Sovereign power; provided on the one hand he does not construe the further order too narrowly, nor on the other hand, extend it further than the intention of that order and the nature of things require. For it must be acknowledged that the exclusion of the Chiefs from the administration of justice is right and proper, because sad experience has too often taught us how some men, be it out of ambition or self-interest or even sometimes ignorance, have abused their authority in judicial matters.

For these reasons I am of opinion that a Chief who wants to do his duty should attend to the following considerations :—

(1) When appointing Judges of the Court of Justice he should take special care, and pay much attention to selecting the best men available at the station; that is men who are staid and conscientious and have a sound judgment, besides reading

[1] Peter Vuyst, Governor of Ceylon, was tried for acts of cruelty and judicial murders and publicly executed at Batavia on the 3rd June 1732 (documents in De Jonge, Vol. IX).

[2] From the Batavia Government's comments on this Chapter (in MS. No. 1134, reproduced in Appendix X below), written apparently by some man of law, it would appear that Mr. Moens' views were not all legally sound, and that he used technical expressions wrongly, in a manner painful to the legal mind. So here he should not have spoken of "approving" (*approbeeren*) but of "assenting" to the execution of the sentence (*toestemming verleenen*).

and experience, in order to supply by these qualities the want of the necessary knowledge of law; because in these regions we are badly provided with men learned in the law.

(2) He should make the members of this Court understand the delicacy, importance and responsibility of their office, and how guilty they are before the Divine Judge if they do not go to work according to conscience and to the best of their knowledge and with all possible impartiality; and that a judge must exercise neither excessive severity, nor misplaced leniency; but be nothing more than an executor of the laws, which he must weigh with the acts done, or the facts of the suit, according to the circumstances of each particular case.

(3) When judgment has been pronounced by the judge in a civil suit and the loser complains to the Chief, he should refrain from taking up the case as long as, according to the rules of procedure, means of obtaining redress are open to the suitor; although I think he might ask for the records of the case, provided he does so only for his own information.

(4) The Chief may indicate to the loser the way of appeal and if the "*fatalia prosecutionis*" (time allowed for appeal[1]) have passed, grant him relief and even, if he be too poor to bear the expenses of the appeal, "*the beneficium paupertatis*" (concession of suing as a pauper) with regard to the expenses in the Court "*a quo*" (from which the appeal lies); and may also make him understand that as far as concerns the expenses with the judge "*ad quem*" (to whom the appeal lies), he may apply and obtain the same advantage from that judge.

(5) If the judge for some reason refuses the loser permission to appeal, the Chief may then make the loser understand that a way of appeal is still left him, viz., by making application to the judge "*ad quem*" for permission to appeal.

(6) When a complaint to that effect is made to the Chief, and it is shown that there is really an unintelligible obscurity in a judgment, he may advise the judge to clear up the obscurity and make his judgment comprehensible, but not to make the least change either prejudicial to the successful party or in favour of the loser; since a judge cannot revise his own judgment.

(7) When the Court refuses to proceed, or, as people say, hangs a suit up, and complaints are made to the Chief, he may recommend prompt hearing or disposal to the Court without taking upon himself to make further enquiries about the merits of the case.

(8) Further, so far as regards the "*beneficia juris*" (concessions of the law such as pardons and remissions of sentence) he should grant no "*committimus*" except in cases which the supreme authority has reserved to itself: which "*committimus*" require the judge to enquire whether the reasons which the applicant for the "*beneficium*" adduces exist in reality, in order, if this is really the case, to *interinate* (confirm) the order granting the "*beneficium*," but if this is not the case to refuse interination of the same[2] as having been obtained by *subreptio* or *obreptio* (fraud or deceit); but as such cases seldom occur, applications for "*beneficia juris*," especially in criminal cases, had best be made to the superior administrations[3] (*i.e.*, Chief or Chiefs in Council of head-quarter stations).

(9) He should make a difference in criminal matters between cases and cases, because interference is more or less necessary according to the kind of crime. For it cannot be denied that justice cannot be so well administered in India at the out-factories, on account of the dearth of persons versed in the law, as in the Netherlands, where most of the judges as well as the *baillus* (public prosecutors) are lawyers, and where in criminal cases, after the *baillu* has formulated his demand for a particular sentence, a separate lawyer argues that the sentence demanded is reasonable, and after he has been answered by a second lawyer for and on behalf of the accused, and reply has been made by a third lawyer for and on behalf of the

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[1] Mr. Moens obviously, as the Batavia lawyer points out, means "*fatalia appellationis*." Batavia also observe that relief could be granted only by the judge of appeal, not by the executive.

[2] The words "te interineeren, dog in contrarie geval het" have slipped out between "het beneficie" and "interinement" in the Dutch reprint No. 2 in this series and "te" has crept in.

[3] The Batavia Government observe on this that the grants of the reliefs referred to cannot be kept entirely in the hands of the superior administrations (that is in the hands of the Chiefs of groups of settlements), but that the Chiefs of out-factories should exercise their powers very sparingly.

officer, finally a second reply is made by a fourth lawyer for and on behalf of the accused; whereas in India the *Fiscals* (advocate-fiscals) have so to speak, to plead *pro* and *contra*, *i.e.*, to point out everything which is in favour of, as well as against, the accused, and every Fiscal is not of a sufficiently well balanced temperament to plead the cause of the accused with the same zeal as he employs to substantiate his own case.

It sometimes happens, both in criminal and civil matters, that a just cause fails because the person seeking redress or his representative puts forward indiscriminately at the outset all the particulars of the case in question, whether relevant or not, which not only involves useless prolixity, but gives the defendant an opportunity of diverting the judge's attention from the essential points, and directing it to matters scarcely relevant, but which may be more favourable to the defendant; and indeed among a great number of particulars, he can hardly fail to find a few such. For if among these he only finds one or two which cannot be proved, he does everything in his power to bring them up continually and makes much of the fact that they cannot be proved or are not true, with the result that a judge who is not as sharp as he might be, allows himself to be persuaded that the case is not proved and so throws it out.

One also finds criminal cases commonly conducted by the "extraordinary" procedure at the out-factories in India, no distinction being made between cases in which the crime is clearly proved and those in which further proof or elucidation is required; which always results in some injury to the cause of truth [1].

Thus it seems to me that in criminal cases the Chief should proceed as follows:—

(1) He should, as has just been said, make a distinction between crimes which directly concern the Company's own private interests and all other crimes, which do not belong to this category. Among the former I reckon conspiracy, desertion, breaches of trust by (the Company's) administrators and other servants, etc.; and among the latter homicide, hurt, theft, etc.—

(2) In the first class of cases he should consider:

(*a*) the Company as privately interested;
(*b*) himself as representing the Company, and
(*c*) the Fiscal as its attorney;

and so, just as any man is at liberty to instruct his attorney, the Chief should instruct the Company's attorney or Fiscal in such a case, in order to have the case disposed of in the real interest of the Company, *e.g.*, in the case of an unfaithful administrator, he should see:

that the Fiscal is carefully instructed about the circumstances of the case and understands which circumstances are relevant and which irrelevant in order that he may restrict his informations to the former;

that these informations are in proper form as the officer's ignorance or negligence often causes him to sin in this matter to the great prejudice of speedy justice;

that if it appears when the informations are "returned" that the accused urges pleas which require examination, the fiscal at once starts the "ordinary" procedure without waiting till the accused applies to be tried by the "ordinary" procedure;

that the sentence demanded and the conclusion are in accordance with the crime and the punishment attached to it by the *placaats* (ordinances) and written law, and that in the further course of the procedure no "informalities" or "nullities" occur, on account of which many a case which would otherwise have succeeded has failed or been thrown out by the Judge. But the Chief should not interfere any further, and especially not encroach in the least degree on the liberty of the judge in the exercise of his duty; for by then the Chief may rest assured that the prosecution has not been bungled.

[1] Batavia observe that whether the procedure should be "ordinary" or "extraordinary" is for the Judge, not for executive authority or the public prosecutor; the extraordinary procedure in Company's cases being laid down by law (Compare the extraordinary procedure in cases of malversation by Government servants laid down in a Madras Regulation of the beginning of the 19th century which is still in force).

Finally if the case is dismissed, the Chief should see:

that the Fiscal appeals at once (as the person convicted may also do if he is not satisfied with the result).

With other criminal cases, in which the Company's interest is not directly at stake, it seems to me a Chief should not specially interfere, nor lead the Fiscal by the hand as it were, provided he supports the Fiscal strongly in all cases, and even makes him take cognizance of offences in order that he may bring the transgressors before the Court of Justice.

The following are the further duties of a Chief :—

(1) When sentence has been passed by the court, and this together with all the papers belonging to the case is brought to him for approval, to peruse all these as carefully and conscientiously as if he were the judge himself and if he finds the sentence is tolerably according to law and in proportion to the offence and circumstances, to approve of it just as it is ; since a verdict pronounced by so many members of the court, to the best of their knowledge, has, to my thinking, as much authority as the opinion of a single Chief, especially if he is not a lawyer ; since, to speak plainly, his political character does not exactly guarantee more than ordinary legal learning.

(2) To give his approval in a public document in order that it may be published before the execution of the sentence and immediately after the sentence has been read out.

(3) To send military force for the assistance of justice to the place of execution on the day of execution, and when the Court goes to the tribunal or to attend the execution of a sentence, to offer his body-guard to it with full military honours, and so show as much respect for justice as possible, and at the same time make the solemnities of the moment imposing and awe-inspiring in every detail.

(4) If after a careful perusal of the papers connected with the case, he thinks on good grounds that the sentence is too light or too severe and is entirely at variance with propriety or the customs of the country, and he feels it difficult to approve of it as it stands, especially when life and death depends on it, he should without further ado simply stay execution and send the records of the case, with an explanation of his reasons for staying execution, by the next ship to Batavia, if necessary with the delinquent.

During my tenure of office however it has never been necessary to stay execution, because the sentences always seemed to me to be in accordance with law and proportioned to the offences and the circumstances.

In Ceylon the Governor has to his comfort—how it is in other places I do not know—so many members in the Political Council who are not members of Court of Justice that six or seven remain to advise. Hence the Governor there can give his approval in a criminal case after consideration in Council, but this cannot be done here, as we have not so large a supply of Company servants as in Ceylon, and most of the members of the Political Council here are also members of the Court of Justice except the Secretary, who is usually excused from that duty. So your Worship's well-known learning in the law will be of great assistance to your Worship in this matter.

Thus it appears from all this that although the Chiefs of Settlements are excluded from the direction of the judicial administration, yet on account of their representing the Sovereign in their office in some degree, they should duly see to it that right and justice are done to the people both in criminal and civil cases ; as indeed they are ordered to do by a public document ; and that if they are willing to comply with this obligation conscientiously and sincerely, they may even exercise very great influence in the matter. At least I for one—however much or little knowledge of the laws and the customs here in India I may think I have—am of opinion that an administrator may do much for his part, if he follows the procedure described above, to have justice administered with efficiency and propriety. For then justice, which cannot be connected with circumstances of too great consideration and respect, will be held in high honour ; then the community will stand in awe of the public

prosecutor, especially when he is himself of exemplary conduct; then everyone knows that he can obtain his rights without respect of persons; then a small man oppressed by greater men and wronged by grasping men will obtain his rights; then offences are punished and unworthy servants are in some measure stayed in their evil courses. For although many should abstain from crimes not so much from love of virtue and hatred of evil as from fear of punishment, knowing that offences are strictly investigated and punished according to desert, and though abstention from such motives is not a virtue *quâ* virtue, it is yet meanwhile at all events of great use in a commonwealth that evil should be less practised than otherwise it would be. The great difference between a civilised and an uncivilised administration of justice is the reason why the native nations, seeing that the exercise of justice is treated by us as something pure and sacred, so greatly extol our happiness in this and so bitterly bewail their own unhappiness: since the administration of justice by native chiefs is mostly exercised according to favour and intercession, and even for money, so that those who offer the most money and so obtain most people to speak for them are as a rule sure to gain their case, whereas a poor man, however righteous his case may be, as a rule loses it.

However I have not put down the above considerations in order to influence your Worship, who requires special instruction as little in judicial as in political matters. I also have special reason to know that your Worship anent the subject of justice here in India is of the same opinion as myself, having become acquainted with the fact in the course of the pleasant correspondence, which we kept up with each other during your Worship's tenure of office at Tuticorin and mine here, in which I informed your Worship among other things of my opinions on this topic, and asked for and was favoured with an expression of your Worship's sentiments in the matter. So I repeat that I have not written down the aforesaid considerations for your Worship's instruction, but rather that, if this were possible, they might chance to give occasion to an authoritative ruling on the debatable question how far the supreme power in India representing the sovereign should interfere with the administration of Justice [1].

Before breaking off from this subject, I must refer to something else, to which my attention has often been drawn during my stay in India, viz., the employment of interpreters in Courts.

It is well known that most of the criminal cases affect natives and only a very small number of Europeans, because the latter are but a few in number here in India in comparison with the natives under the sway and jurisdiction of the Company; so that the witnesses who are summoned and heard by the courts are also for the greater part natives, and so enquiries have usually to be held with the help of interpreters, who understand the language of the country. Such an interpreter must not only pay attention to understanding rightly the person who gives evidence, but must also be qualified to make the clerk of the court understand the evidence. But how easily may a mistake be made which may naturally lead to failure of justice, especially in criminal cases, in which sometimes life and death depends on the correctness or incorrectness of an expression! For although in fact the interpreter has himself rightly understood the evidence of the witness, he must also know our Dutch language well enough to make the clerk understand the evidence of the witness in such a way that he knows what is the real and true meaning —, in a word he ought not only to have an "*idea clara*" but also an "*idea distincta* [2]" of that which he has to interpret.

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[1] *I.e.*, this passage is an attempt to draw Batavia on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. The reply of the Batavia Government will be found in Appendix X. It is in very general terms and to the effect that there were many old orders on the subject, that the interference of the Chiefs of Settlements should be limited to extreme cases and that action should only be taken by the Chief with advice of his council. What this action would be is not indicated, but it would presumably take the form of suspending or removing a judge or judges

[2] A "distinct" as well as a "clear" idea, an allusion to the famous cartesian formula that it is permissible to assume the truth of everything that can be conceived "very clearly and distinctly" (Descartes, Med. III, and *passim*). Descartes makes a distinction between "clear" and "distinct" in Princ. I. 45 and 46. Any man may have a clear idea of a pain in his leg, but only the philosopher will be sufficiently free from wrong notions about pain to have a distinct idea. I am not sure Mr. Moens has any "distinct idea" here of what he means; as Locke observes in his preface to the Essay on the Human Understanding "Clear and distinct ideas are terms which, though familiar and frequent in men's mouths, I have reason to think everyone who uses does not perfectly understand."

Meanwhile we know that the Company seldom has European, but as a rule native interpreters, among whom there are individuals who have some difficulty in expressing themselves in Dutch, not to say that we have sometimes to guess at what they mean ; and so, obviously, mistakes may easily be made. I speak from experience, and have not forgotten how once, when I was assisting at such a trial as a member of a court, I was led to doubt, from a consideration of the whole case, whether the statement of the witnesses had been really understood by the interpreters or translated into Dutch so as to convey the meaning, and whether in particular the interpreter did his work properly in the examination of witnesses by question and answer, when he must be doubly attentive, first to explain the questions of the questioner so clearly that the witness understands the real meaning of the questioner, and secondly also to explain the reply properly.

It would accordingly be desirable to secure European interpreters who have a knowledge of the country and the vernaculars for the service of justice—not to mention that this would also solve the question of the great want of good interpreters in the Political Secretariat for interpreting letters from and writing letters to native chiefs ; for which not only a good knowledge of the language is required but also of the manners, the customs and the ceremonies of the native ; and also for the daily occurrences in the public service to which a Chief has to give his continual attention if he wishes to maintain the Company's prestige and to remain the protector of embarrassed and oppressed natives who have recourse to him.

I can think of no better way to secure good interpreters here and everywhere in India than to impress small European boys who come out on board ship and sometimes are not above ten years of age, but are often lively and alert, and to have them properly instructed in reading and writing the Dutch language, to make them continually read books easy to understand in order that they may acquire a more than ordinary knowledge of the language, and meanwhile to make them also read and write at an early age the vernacular or predominant language of the place in which they are—just as in the Netherlands boys learn the French and other languages at an early age privately or at school — which would make of them very good interpreters, especially if they were also made to read old papers at once, allowed to go inland occasionally, and were even made use of at once to accompany commissions or embassies to the courts of native rulers, in order that they might in this way not only get acquainted at an early age with the language, manners, customs and way of living of the native, but also with the Native rulers themselves and their Ministers. Had we once such interpreters, we could always train others to succeed them ; at least I am of opinion that a great service would be done to justice and that a judge could give judgment with much more ease of mind on papers translated by such interpreters. For these reasons I have already apprenticed two lads called Gerrit van Waardenburg and Jacob Goliath to our second interpreter. These boys have started to learn to read and write the Malabar language and are diligently engaged on it. But if you wish to proceed with the training of such lads you must give them a salary on which they can live in order that they may not have need, owing to insufficient pay, to have recourse to malpractices, as interpreters, without offence to the few good ones, are often found to do.

Herewith in bringing this Writing to its conclusion, I wish Your Worship from the bottom of my heart a prosperous and happy administration both for the welfare of the Company and for your Worship's own satisfaction. Meanwhile I remain with all respect,

Your Worship's willing servant and friend,

A. MOENS.

APPENDICES TO MOENS' MEMOIR.

Appendix No. I.

Extract from the notes taken by the Chief Interpreter Simon van Tongeren in the year 1772.

I do not think it necessary to translate this appendix. It contains some papers of no great interest about the dispute with Travancore referred to in Chapter II of the Memoir regarding seizure of contraband tobacco in territory belonging to the Dutch Company and of alleged force used against the Company's renter. The Dutch made a great fuss, asserting that their territorial sovereignty had been violated, and demanded instant satisfaction. Travancore's representatives replied that there had been no intention of insulting the Company. The King's officers had only, while pursuing smugglers who were the King's own subjects, crossed the Company's frontier under a misapprehension. The Company's renter could not produce impartial evidence to prove the charge of force, and finally the matter dropped.—Editor.

Appendix No. II.

Letter from the Pope to the Bishop of Verapoly referred to in Chapter II of the Memoir.

Clemens PP. XIV.

Venerabilis Frater salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem. De strenuo viro Gubernatore Hollandico, de illius erga Christianos istarum Regionum studia, atque egregia ab eodem datam (*sic*) opera pro tranquillitate iis obtinenda multa mobis fuerunt commemorata a Dilecto Filio Stephano Borgia nostrae Congregationis de Propaganda fide Secretario. Cum hujusmodi in Christianos homines collatum beneficium ad nos maxime pertinere, nosque eodem devinctos esse censeamus, magnopere cupimus saltem hos ipsos grati animi nostri sensus eidem Gubernatori esse cognitos, atque perspectos.

Itaque hoe munus nostrae illi propterea referendae gratiae tibi, venerabilis Frater, dare hisce Literis voluimus et committere prout facimus ut quam uberrimis indiciis nostram illi propensissimam voluntatem declares, eique significes tanto impensius etiam hoc illius merito nos esse obstrictos, quanto magis confidimus illum aeque deinceps de Christianis atque adeo de nobis ipsis benemereri perrecturum. Demum in nostri Pontificii in te animi pignus tibi venerabilis Frater, ac Populis curae tuae traditis, apostolicam Bendictionem (*sic*) peramanter impertimur.

(Inferior) (*sic*) Datum Romae apud sanctam Mariam majorem sub annulo Piscatoris die XXIII: July MDCCLXXII: Pontificatus nostri anno quarto: subscriptum erat: Benedictus Staij (*sic*) et corroboratum Sigillo Annuli piscatoris in dorso opposito.

Appendix No. III.

This appendix, as appears from the reference to it in Chapter VI of the Memoir, contained an account of the Malabar castes. It is unfortunately now missing from the original volume; removed perhaps by some curious person who neglected to replace it—Editor.

Appendix No. IV.

Report of a Committee.

This is merely a report, which I do not think it necessary to translate, on the state of the Cochin fortifications and buildings. It deals with the town walls, the bastions, the gates, the warehouse, the store-houses, banksals, armoury, powder-magazine, smithy, ship-yard, wood-yard, slave godowns, hospital, Government house, Second's house, Secretariat, Company's garden house outside the town, Company's stables and cow-houses, etc.—Editor.

Appendix No. V.

Abstract of conditions for the maintenance of the Cochin fortifications by the highest bidder.

This is merely a draft of conditions of a contract for keeping the fortifications in repair. I do not think it necessary to translate it.—Editor.

Appendix No. VI.

(Referred to in Chapters X and XIV).

Memorandum of gardens and lands belonging to the Company on the coast of Malabar.

The island *Bendurty* lying half an hour south of this town, containing:

4,990 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
314 parras of cultivated lands,
9,300 salt-pans.

A garden called *David de Castella* lying at Aru about two hours south of this town, containing:

3,275 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
490 parras of cultivated land,
2,980 salt-pans.

A garden called *St. Jago* lying by the third Roman Church on the southern shore of Cochin, containing:

3,116 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
48 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Hendrik de Silva* lying at Malambelly one and a half hours south of Cochin on the sea-shore, containing:

1,659 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
728 parras of cultivated land.

The island *Muttucunu* and two [islands] belonging to it lying nearly half an hour south of Cranganore, all three containing:

3,673 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
531 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Illawada* lying west of the Company's outside garden, on the shore, containing:

1,563 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
103 parras of cultivated land.

The island *Calliacatle* or *Morenbril* lying in the back-water between Calicoilan and Coilang, containing:

5,462 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
41 parras of cultivated land,
1,300 salt-pans.

The island *Bettenienny* lying a little to the east of the above-mentioned island *Calliacatte*, containing:

423 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at Calichery Bitjur lying to the east of the back-water, 8 hours south of Cochin, containing:

1,570 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
44½ parras of cultivated land.

A garden at Purponcarre called *Mathys Mendes*, containing:

315 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
4 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at Purpencarre called *Anthony Fernando Piloot*, containing:

257 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
22 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *St. Andries* lying six hours from Cochin, containing:

983 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
44½ parras of cultivated land.

A piece of land called *Gasany* on Vypeen, containing:

108 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
225 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Bellesior Rodrigus* lying one hour south of this town, containing:

195 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
10 parras of cultivated land.

The *Verdronken* (submerged) island lying north-east in the back-water in front of Cochin, containing:

14 parras of cultivated land,
400 salt-pans.

A little parcel of land on the shore south of the Company's Outside Garden, containing:

96 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
5 parras of cultivated land.

A little parcel of land behind or beside the Banyas' village, containing:

177 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
½ parra of cultivated land.

Five parcels of land lying west of the Sacrifice Tree in the Canarin bazaar, containing:

34 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
1 parra of cultivated land.

Two little gardens lying on the old channel from the Canarin bazaar, containing:

213 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
300 salt-pans.

Ten little parcels of land lying between the two channels on this side of the Canarin bazaar, containing:

513 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
180 salt-pans.

A garden lying east of the Company's Outside Garden, containing:

341 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
8 parras of cultivated land.

A piece of land called *Malliencarre* opposite to the out-post Aycotta, containing:

487 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
25 parras of cultivated land.

The *plain* (military free zone) beginning at the Company's Garden and ending at Calvetty,

A piece of land lying north of St. Andries, containing:

289 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

A piece of land of 1,699 roods in extent lying at Calvetty on this side of the channel from the Canarin bazaar, containing:

112 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
10 parras of cultivated land.

A piece of land at *Cattur* containing:

166 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees.

The island called *Malliencarre*, opposite the out-post Aycotta, containing:

466 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
20 parras of cultivated land.

A piece of land at *Paliaporte* on which the trees have been cut down and the lease money has been reduced but is still planted with:

243 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees.

A garden at *St. Andries*, containing:

298 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
5 parras of cultivated land.

A garden lying at *Carcarpally*, containing:

121 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees.

A garden lying at *Cheramagalam* 8 hours south of Cochin, containing:

69 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees.

A garden at *Manicorde*, containing:

493 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees.

A garden called *Hendrik de Silva Pequena*, containing:

1,119 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
20 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *Senhora De Saude*, containing:
1,222 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
29 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *St. Louis*, containing:
333 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
7 parras of cultivated land.

The *Musquiten* (Mosquito) *island* opposite to Cranganore, containing:
233 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
308 parras of cultivated land,
103 salt-pans.

A garden at *Crus de Milager*, containing:
100 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

The *Paulist Island*, otherwise called *Wallarpart*, containing:
676 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
325 parras of cultivated land,
1,324 salt-pans.

The garden called *Balleyatty* (Bolgotty) containing:
297 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
562 salt-pans.

A garden at *Angecaimaal*, containing:
82 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
92 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Catharina Cardoza* at Irrewoni, containing:
82 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
4 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Joan Correa de Silva*, containing:
148 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
4 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *Castella*, one and half hours south of Cochin, containing:
930 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
20 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Ilha de Lethy* or *Carmarta* lying near Cranganore, containing:
338 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
80 parras of cultivated land.

A garden called *Domingo Fernando* lying one hour from Cochin, containing:
217 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
42 parras of cultivated land.

The island *St. Domingo* lying half an hour north-east of Cochin, containing:
476 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
126 parras of cultivated land,
900 salt-pans.

A garden at *Aycotta* of 3 parcels of 21,281½ roods, containing:
587 fruit-bearing cocoanut and some other trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *Aycotta* of 2 parcels, containing:
721 fruit-bearing cocoanut trees,
6 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *Aycotta* of 2 parcels, containing:
631 fruit-bearing cocoanut trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

A garden at *Aycotta* of 2 parcels of land, containing:
359 fruit-bearing cocoanut trees.

Still another garden at *Aycotta* of 4 parcels of land, containing:

182 fruit-bearing cocoanut trees.

A garden lying on the old channel of the Canarin bazaar, containing:

66 fruit-bearing cocoanut and some other trees,
1 parra of cultivated land.

A little garden lying near *Calvetty*, containing:

22 fruit-bearing cocoanut trees.

A garden lying at *Alipe* of 9 hours south of Cochin, containing:

76 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
2 parras of cultivated land.

A garden on the *Vreede* (Peace) island at Allepaar lying 2 or 3 hours north of Coilan, containing:

265 fruit-bearing cocoanut and other trees,
30 parras of cultivated land,
490 salt-pans.

Two little pieces of land or cultivated fields 32 parras in extent lying near *Aycotta*.

Land let on cowle (See Chapter XIV).

A piece of land on the other side of Aycotta.
A piece of land near Manicoorde.
A piece of land on the shore near Aycotta.
A piece of land lying near Illewade.
A piece of land at St. Jago.
A piece of land at St. Andries.
A piece of land on the north side of Kastella.
Two pieces of land lying opposite the post Aycotta.
A piece of land at Aycotta.
A piece of land also lying near Aycotta.
A piece of waste land behind the post Aycotta.
A piece of land lying near the post Manicoorde on the sea-shore.
Some little pieces of land at Calichery Bitsjur.
A piece of land on the " plain " near the Company's Outside Garden.
Some little pieces of land in the Illawada farm.
A piece of land lying at Baliaporte.
A piece of land lying east of the Company's Outside Garden.
A piece of land lying next the one just mentioned.

Appendix No. VII.

This merely contains a list which I have not thought it necessary to reproduce, of all artillery at Cochin (150 guns), at Aycotta (10 guns), on the islands of Mutucunu (3 guns), at Cranganore (22 guns), at Quilon (14 guns), besides guns on board ships and in reserve, field artillery, mortars, etc.—*Editor*.

Appendix No. VIII.

This contains correspondence from 1763 A.D. to 1779 about the private trade and commissions of the Chief and Second. The subject having been sufficiently dealt with in Chapter XIII of the Memoir, I have not thought it necessary to translate this appendix. It shows among other things that the profits of the private trade of these officials after it had been taken over by the Company were—

	RS.
1873–74	16,760
1874–75	23,348
1875–76	18,364
1876–77	19,319
1877–78	20,686

Appendix No. IX.

This contains voluminous correspondence about the defalcations of one Isaacs referred to in Chapter XVI. It does not appear to me to be of much interest; so I have not translated it.—*Editor.*

Appendix No. X.

Marginal Remarks of the Batavia Government of the Memoir.

[These notes have been extracted from Manuscript No. 1146. They do not form an appendix to Moens' Memoir in the original volume, and have accordingly not yet been published in Dutch. I now give the Dutch as well as English. The page references in the Dutch are to the copy of the manuscript sent to Batavia; in the English to this volume.]

Marginale aanteekeningen op de Memorie door den Heer Raad Extraordinair van Indie, Adriaan Moens, als afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Mallabaar aan zijn Ed's successeur in het bestier, den Commandeur Johan Gerard van Angelbeek nagelaten.

Page 29.

Met opzigt tot den eersten minister van den Koning van Trevancoor, is goedgevonden en verstaan den Commandeur te recommandeeren in observantie te houden den raad door den Heer Moens aan de hand gegeeven, om met dien minister kennisse te maaken, en denselven nu en dan eens een presentje te zenden, als ook hem te gerieven met kleinigheeden, daar hij omvraagd.

Page 35.

De verklaring deezer regeering, bij aparte brief naar Cochim van den eersten October 1771, bepalende in hoe verre den Commandeur mag blijven staan op het bedongene bij het contract met den Koning van Trevancoor, dat na de leverantie van de volle gecontracteerde quantiteijt peper, op ieder 300 candijlen, aan zijne Hoogheijd een pas zal worden verleend, en in hoe verre gepousseerd mag worden, dat zijne Hoogheid, dien conform, eerst peeper moet leeveren alvoorens hij passen kan krijgen, moet secreet gehouden worden.

Page 40.

Schoon het project om den Koning van Travancoor meer peeper te doen leeveren, door het opkopen van al de tabak die Jaffanapatnam uitleverd, en dan de peeper niet alleen contant maar ook in tabak te betaalen, deeze regeering van veel omslag voorkomt, is egter goedgevonden en verstaan een extract uit de Memorie van den Heer Moens, voor zoo verre dit poinct betreft, aan den Heer Raad Ordinair en Ceilons Gouverneur Mr. Willem Falck te zenden, om bij occagie, daar op de dienen van zijn Ed's consideratien.

Page 44.

Den Commandeur van Angelbeek is verstaan aan te schrijven zorge te draagen, dat de peeper rekening van den Koning van Travancoor, en de voornijtverstrekkingen aan zijne Hoogheid gedaan jaarlijks verevent worden.

Page 48.

Ingevalle den Koning van Travancoor zijne geformeerde pretentie op de eilanden Moetoecoenoe weder mogt vernieuwen, sal den Commandeur zig moeten reguleeren, na het aangeschreevene op dat sujet, bij aparte brief deezer regeering van den eersten October 1771, terwijl dit poinct almede secreet moet blijven.

Page 53.

En wanneer hij zijne pretentie op de gemelde eilanden, als voorzegd, weder mogt tragten te doen gelden, sullen de Ministers in geheugen moeten houden, om de 16,000 rop's welke de Comp. daarvoor heeft betaald, te augmenteeren met 7.000 rop's wegens het ten koste gelegde aan drie aldaar opgerigte paggers, en dus de somma moeten verhoogen tot 23,000 rop's.

Page 74.

De Ministers is verstaan te gelasten attent te zijn, en nauwkeurig te letten, dat de tollen op de Cannarijnsche bazaar, de bazaar op Pagodingo en Mattancherij absolut niet verhoogd worden, maar steeds blijven, en geheven worden op en naar de bepaling, bij de daarvan door den Koning van Cochim overgegeeven lijst, vermeld bij Mallabarsche resolutie van den 13 Augustus 1772.

Page 76.

Dewijl de Heer Moens niet ongeraaden agt dat den voorslag om het regt van Cochims Koning, op de helft der inkomende en uitgaande regten, van Zijne Hoogheijd af te kopen, in geheugen worde gehouden en zijn Ed. vermeend, dat den Koning, wanneer hij in de uiterste verlegenheid is, en het mag doen, dat regt ook wel zal willen verkoopen maar indien hij door den Koning van Travancoor daar in belet wierde, den laatsten in dat geval direct daarover onderhouden zoude dienen te worden, zoo is verstaan den Commandeur van Angelbeek aan te schrijven zulks in gedagten te houden.

Page 79.

Belangende de onderstelling van de Heer Moens, dat de Compagnie ter goeder trouw zoude mogen afschaffen, pagt te betaalen van de bijsondere of zoo genaamde particuliere handel, die zeederd eenige jaaren ter dezer custe voor haar Ed. reekening is gedreeven, en den Koning van Cochim daar door gepersuadeerd soude konnen worden, van zijn regt op de halve pagt afstand te doen, in aanmerking genoomen zijnde:

Dat de pagt conditien zijn ingerigt in een tijd dat zodanig een particulieren handel voor Compagnies reekening niet wierd gedreeven en ons het 18 articul der pagt conditien, waarop zijn Ed. zig fundeerd, als van een veel vroeger datum, dan den handel op zig zelfs wezende, in dezen van geen applicatie kan zijn.

Dat den Koning bevorens, en in dien tijd, dat de scheeps overheeden hunne gepermitteerde lasten aan particulieren demanneerden de pagt daar van en met regt genoten heeft, en dus met geen regt ingesloten kan worden van dezelve, door de introductie van een particuliere handel, die, om bijsondere reden is ingevoerd, en waardoor, indien men de tol niet betaalde van de indiervoegen genegotieerde goederen, den Koning op eene indirecte en ongepermitteerde wijse onthouden zoude worden datgene 't welk anders de particuliere souden verhandelen, en nadien die, door den particulieren handel voor de Compagnie daar van worden geseclude̊erd, zoo is geoordeeld, dat men, ter goeder trouw te werk gaande, de betaaling der gewoone geregtigheeden van de gepermitteerde lasten der scheeps overheeden, die voor de Compagnie worden aangeslaagen, niet kan of mag weigeren, en den Koning van Cochim daarentegen met billijkheid mag urgeeren op zijn regt, om daar van ook de halve tol te genieten.

Page 110.

De aparte brief, in dato 7e Maart 1777, door de Heer Moens aan deeze regeering geschreeven moet secreet blijven.

Page 129.

Den Commandeur van Angelbeek is verstaan aan te beveelen, bij bekwaame occagie, te probeeren om de landen, welke de Compagnie op de Mallabaar bezet, op de door den Heer Moens voorgestelde voet, in een kaart te laten brengen.

Page 154.

En verdagt te zijn, dat tot invordering van hetgeen de Collastrijsche princen eigentlijk aan de Compagnie ten agteren staan, maar door den voormalingen Commandeur Weijerman voldaan is, alle devoiren aangewend moeten worden.

Page 164.

En niet minder ter inpalming der schulden van den overleden Moorsch regent Adij Ragia, of de tijd, schoon daar toe tans geen apparentie schijnd te zijn, somtijds verandering mogt baaren, zonder egter, ten minsten voor eerst tot, middelen van geweld over te gaan.

Page 221.

Tot het aangaan van een of en defensieve alliantie met den Nabab Haider Alichan, bij secreete brieven aan den Heer Raad ordinair Falck en den Chormandels Gouverneur van Vlissingen, van den 10e Julij dezes jaars bereeds qualificatie gegeeven zijnde, zoo wierd met betrekking tot de remarque van den Heer Moens, wegens het zigtbare verlangen van den Nabab, tot het sluijten van zodanig een tractaat, nog aangemerkt, dat zulks met de uiterste precautie moet geschieden om dat men zig niet verder kan verbinden als voor zoo lange den staat in oorlog sal blijven met Engeland, en daar in zal afhangen van den toestant der zaaken in Europa, en dat men dus diend te conditioneeren dat wanneer in tijds opening word gegeeven, dat men door het staaken van den oorlog in Europa, hier vreede moet maaken, zulks ten beste zal worden geduijd onder verzeekering dat men teffens zoo veel mogelijk sal zorgen voor de belangen van Comp's bondgenooten.

Page 222.

Terwijl verstaan is den E. van Angelbeek te recommandeeren de aanmerking van de Heer Moens, dat men te Cranganoor en Aijkottee steeds ophoede diend te zijn, om den Nabab het doordringen te beletten.

Page 231.

Zoo meede de nadeelige beschrijving van zijne personeele hoedanigheeden, en de consideratien van de Heer Moens, dat hij, de maatschappij in zijn belang hebbende, niet veel beeter soude handelen als de Franschen, en zig tot geen andere inzigten laten gebruiken als om zijne, en niet des Maatschappij's belangen te bedœlen, zig tot narigt te laten strekken, mitsgaders alle voor en omzigtigheid omtrend den Nabab te gebruijken.

Page 235.

Ook in serieuse overweging te houden, dat hij een usurpateur en wreedaard-is, na wiens overleiden grote omwentelingen te dugten zijn, en dat dierhalven op zijne bestendigheid niet te reekenen valt, als voor zoo lange hij leefd.

Page 235.

En almede verdagt te sijn. dat de Marhettas tegen hem aangezet en hij daar zoo niet uijtgeroeid, ten minsten klein gemaakt zoude konnen worden, als ook te overwegen, of men van dien kant mede iets kan uitvoeren.

Page 241.

Voorts, bij voorkomende occagie, attent te zijn, dat de Marhettas bij het te onderbrengen van Haider Alichan, of het weder herstellen der vorsten die bevorens hunne tribuitarissen geweest, dog welkers landen tans door den Nabab overheerd zijn, min of meer Compagnies buuren zouden konnen worden.

Page 243.

Het geremarqueerde door de Heer Moens dat voor de cauris de Maldivos op Ceijlon te weinig geld betaald zoude worden, om den inlander te animeeren die in groter quantiteit derwaards overtevoeren, is goed gevonden en verstaan de Ceilonsche ministers door toezending van extract uijt zijn Eds. memorie, voor te houden.

Page 309.

Het gezag en regt van de Compagnie over de Roomsche Kerk en Kerkmiddelen moet gemainteneerd worden, met uitsluijting der Roomsche geestelijken, mits het geschiede met discretie en omsigtigheid.

Page 315.

Indien het onderhoud van de koster en voorzanger der Cochimsche kerk door de diaconij niet kan worden gedraagen, is goedgevonden en verstaan hetgeen daar aan ontbreekt uit Compagnies kasse te laten suppleeren, en daartoe aan Commandeur van Angelbeek qualificatie te verleenen.

Den gereformeerden kerken raad dezer stede is verstaan op te draagen, de bezorging, voor de forten Coilan en Cranganoor, van twee Krankbezoekers, bij bekoming van dezelve uit Neederland.

Page 368.

Het onderhouden der fortificatie werken ter custe Mallabaar is verstaan voortaan te laten aanbesteeden op zoodanige conditien als vermeld staan bij de bijlage No. 5, agter de Memorie van de Heer Moens.

Page 380.

Den Commandeur van Angelbeek is verstaan te gelasten een preuve te neemen, om de in het gebied van Trevancoor verstrooid leggende landen van de Compagnie, na het voorstel van den Heer Moens, aan den Koning van Trevancoor te verkopen voor een capital eenigzints geproportioneerd na de revenuen die de Maatschappij van deselve trekt.

Page 391.

Boven de 120 sipais die nog aan de voldoening van den eisch manqueeren, is verstaan nog een honderd koppen van dat volk van de Mallabaar te vorderen.

Page 403.

Den particuliere inzaam van peeper thans ingevoerd zijnde, zoo is verstaan den Commandeur van Angelbeek te qualificeeren, daar bij te continueeren, indien hij meede met particulieren negotieerd, dog alleen voor zoo verre, dat de quantiteit niet hooger loope als hij weder spoedig met winst kan debiteeren en in recommandatie om den inkoop met verdektheid te behandelen.

De ministers is overstaan nader aan te beveelen nogmaals een preuve te neemen, of het mogelijk zij op Mallabaar, door middel van de noordsche Kooplieden, Souratteschc lijwaaten voor de Compagnie in te samelen, bij zonder in deezen tijd dat Compagniees comtoir Souratta naar alle waarschijnlijkheid in handen der Engelsen zal zijn.

Page 413.

Ter zaake van de tegenwoordige tijds gesteldheid, is goedgevonden en verstaan den Commandeur van Angelbeek te ordonneeren, over den verkoop van peeper ter custe Mallabaar met den Heer Ceijlons Gouverneur Falck te correspondeeren, en hem te qualificeeren zoo veel van dat articul, van de hand te zetten, als op Ceijlon niet benodigd zal zijn geduurende de presente onzekerheid wegens de afzending van retour scheepen naar Neederland.

Page 415.

Nopens de prijsen der goederen, op de door den Heer Moens opgenoemde verschillende plaatsen is verstaan de Ministers te ordonneeren successive notitien herwaards te zenden ten eijnde zig hier daarna casu quo te konnen reguleeren, in de afzending van koopmanschappen.

Page 419.

Desgelijks is verstaan de ministers te gelasten deeze regeering een opgave te bezorgen van de onderscheiden zoorten van lijwaaten welke de Bombarassen aanbrengen, als ook van de prijsen tegen dewelke die doeken, bij eenige partijen, te krijgen zijn, en hoeveel men casu quo, daar van zoude konnen bekomen, bij benodigdheid.

Page 420.

Ook is verstaan de ministers op te draagen van het salpeeter, dat de sibaars van Rajapoer doorgaans aanbrengen, een monster over te zenden, met opgave van de prijs, waar voor dat silt ingekogt kan worden.

Page 442.

Het overneemen voor de Compagnie van de gepermitteerde lasten der scheepsoverheeden is verstaan op den presenten voet te laaten, met recommendatie aan den Commandeur om daarin naar gemoede te werk te gaan.

Page 500.

Om alle nauwkeurigheid te betragten, en tot voorkoming van een verkeerd begrip, is verstaan tot narigt van den Commandeur van Angelbeek te noteeren, dat in tegenoverstelling van de magt, welke aan de hoofdgebieders is gegeeven, om de executie der vonnissen in het crimineele, om gegronde redenen, te surcheeren, het proces en vonnis in cas contrair eigentlijk niet word geapprobeerd, maar de hoofdgebieders alleen hunne toestemming moeten verleenen tot het laten voortgaan der executie, als een bewijs, dat hun gene redenen zijn voorgekomen, waarom de uitvoering der sententie soude worden gesurcheerd

Page 501.

Ongeagt het goede oogmerk, dat de Heer Moens bedoeld met zijn Ed's bedenking, dat een gebieder, in de aangehaalde gevallen, civile processen soude mogen opeisschen eenlijk tot zijn speculatie, is egter verstaan, den Commandeur van Angelbeek te gelasten van dit in zig zelfs onbestaanbaar middel, zoo min mogelijk gebruik te maaken, te meer zodanig eene opeissening niet alleen nutteloos zoude zijn, maar ook includeeren een merkelijk bezwaar voor den regter, die, het vonnis uitgesprooken zijnde, wel heeft gedefungeerd, maar aan wien nogtans, voor zoo verre van des regters depart is, indien er niet word geappeleerd, de executie van het gewijsde mede incumbeerd, 't geen een voornaam gedeelte zijner regtsoeffening uitmaakt, en hij daar te boven in cas van appel, alleen gehouden is, aan den regter ad quem, het proces over te zenden, om, des geraaden vindende, bij denselven zijn vonnis te sustineeren en te verantwoorden.

Page 504.

Voorts onder notitie, dat de Heer Moens met de fatalia prosecutionis, eigentlijk heeft gemeend, de fatalia appellationis, te remarqueeren, dat het verleenen van relief, tegen den laps deezer fatalia, competeerd aan den regter van appel, om dat zulks een provisie is waarop parthij gehoord, en die, alvoorens er eijsch gedaan word, moet voldongen worden, en zulke gedingen, gelijk doorgaans volgt, bij wege van interinement afgedaan worden.

Dat het alleen den regter in appellatorio competeerd acta pro Deo te verleenen, en daarop, na gelegendheid van zaaken, parthij advers alvoorens ook wel word gehoord, omdat daarin voor hem een merkelijk nadeel is geleegen.

Page 505.

Dat ofschoon bij het wijgeren van appel in 't civile een gebieder den succumbant wel uit menschlievendheid zoude mogen informeeren, dat den weg van appel des onaangezien voor hem open blijft, te weeten om het te verzoeken bij den regter ad quem, zulks egter met het caracter van een hoofdgebieder ook onbestaanbaar zoude konnen zijn, want dat, indien een diergelijke onderigting wierd gegeven, omtrend een interlocutoir vonnis dat ten definitive reparabal is, en waarvan dus niet kan worden geappelleerd, zulks (niet zoude quadreeren met de last, welke) de hoofdgebieders bij hunne commissien word aanbevoolen om te zorgen dat er regt en justitie, zoo in het crimineele als civiele, onder den volke geadministreerd worde.

Dat dengeenen, die aan eenig gewijsde moet voldoen, dan wel hij, die daar bij iets is toegeweesen, wanneer in een sententie een onverstaanbaare obscuritiet resideerd, van den regter interpretatie moet vragen, en wanneer hem zulks word geweigerd, als dan door den gebieder den regter mag worden gerecommandeerd, die obscuriteit weg te neemen, en de sententie verstaanbaar te maaken.

Page 506.

Dat het verleenen van beneficien, als daar zijn die van relief substantiaal, cessie, respijt, atterminatie en andere, die doorgaans met committimus aan den regter worden verleend, in allen gevalle aan een hoofdgebieder niet alleen zoude staan, dog de ministers op de buiten comptoiren omtrend het accordeeren derzelve zeer naauw zijn bepaald, onder recommendatie, zig tot narigt te laten strekken dat zulke beneficien zoo min mogelijk, en niet als om gewigtige redenen moeten worden toegestaan.

Page 508.

Dat in cas crimineel de procedures, conform de wet, extra ordinair moeten worden begonnen dog den regter bij het retourneeren van den eisch en de stukken, waarmede den fiscaal dezelve tragt te verifieeren, met alle mogelijke nauwkeurigheid behoord te oordeelen, of de misdaad daarin klaar is beweesen, dan wel nadere bewijsen of ophelderingen nodig zijn, en of dienvolgende de zaak is geconstitueerd, om extraordinair te worden afgedaan, of om den gevangenen in een ordinair proces to admitteeren en dat, dewijl dezen aangaande een klaar en duidelijk voorschrift voor de regters op de buiten comptoiren word gevonden in het 4^e deel van de door wijlen den Heer Raad extraordinair Louis Taillefert ontworpen ruwe schets of manier van procedeeren, hetzelve zoo veel doenlijk tot narigt moet dienen.

Page 510.

Dat om den fiscaal zijne procedures ordinario modo te laten entameeren, wanneer uit de ingewonnen enquesten blijkt dat den beschuldigde zig met uitvlugten behelpt, die onderzoek vereijschen, zulks soude strekken in prejudicie van den fiscaal en ook van het regt der maatschappij.

Mitsgaders dat de extraordinaire procedures daartoe zijn ingerigt, om, langs een korte weg, op en omtrend alle de deelen van de zaak te konnen inquireeren, maar zoo er ordinair word geprocedeerd, het examineeren van den beklaagden cesseerd, als meede het confronteeren van denzelven, hetzij tegen zijne complices, of tegen de getuigen, en hier door dus het beste onderzoek kan worden gedaan naar de uitvlugten waarmeede den beschuldigde zig tragt te behelpen, met recommandatie aan den Commandeur om deeze omzigtigheid steeds in agt te neemen.

Page 517.

Dat door een aantal orders, zoo door de Hoog Edele Heeren Zeventienen als deeze Regeering, op de administratie der justitie van tijd tot tijd gesteld, de bepaaling bereeds is gemaakt, dat de justitie haaren onbelemmerde cours gelasten, en door geene politieke dispositien gestremd moet worden, zoo lange den regter zijn ampt behoorlijk exerceerd, de zaaken behandeld worden zoo als in goede justitie behoord, en een ieder kort, goed en overtogen regt word gedaan, waarop door de overigheid, en dus in de eerste plaats door de hoofdgebieders, wel voornamentlijk moet worden gelet, als eigentlijk hetgeene zijnde, dat een gebieder in zijne commissie ten deezen opzigte word voorgeschreeven en aanbevoolen, dan dat het waakzaam oog, hetwelk een hoofdgebieder verpligt is, hier omtrend te houden, egter niet moet intimideeren, of eenige belemmeringen te weege konnen brengen, maar wanneer een reeele quade administratie der justitie voorziening verderd, het als dan de pligt van een hoofd gebieder is, nauwkeurig kennisse van zaaken te neemen en met advis van raade, het nodige redres te beraamen, dog dit poinct zoo teeder is, dat daar toe niet dan in gevallen van de uitterste noodzaakelijkheid, en met alle mogelijke prudentie moet worden getreeden, en welke prudente omzigtigheid is beslooten, den Commandeur van Angelbeek aan te recommandeeren.

Page 521.

Alhoewel de abuisen, die door het emploieeren van inlandsche tolken konnen worden begaan, een gebrek is, dat niet wel geremedieerd kan worden, en waar omtrend het in zonderheid aankomt op den regter en officier van justitie, zoo is egter verstaan den Commandeur van

Angelbeek te gelasten de hand te houden aan twee Europeesche jongelingen die den Heer Moens de inlandsche taal heeft laten aanleeren, en die tot tolken te gebruiken, gelijk hier ook geschied, met aanschrijvens om aan deeze Regeering voor te dragen wat dezelve successive toegevoegd zoude konnen worden.

Page 521.

Wijders is goedgevonden en verstaan den Commandeur van Angelbeek aan te beveelen den verderen inhoud deezer memorie waarop bij deeze regeering geen speciaale reflectien gemaakt, of dispositien gevallen zijn, nevens de voorenstaande aanmerkingen en besluiten te laten strekken ter zijner narigt en observatie.

Page 521.

En laatstelijk den Heer Moens voor de genomen moeite, tot het instellen van dat schriftuur, te bedanken, gelijk zijn Ed. daar voor bedankt word bij deezen.

Batavia in 't Kasteel den 10e September 1781

Per ordonnancie van Hunne Hoog Edelheeden den Gouverneur Generaal en de Raaden van Indie.

H. Goetbloed

Sec,s.

Marginal notes on the "Memoir" left by Mr. Adrian Moens, Councillor Extraordinary of India, departing Governor and Director of Malabar, to his Worship's successor in office, the Commandeur Johan Gerard van Angelbeek.

Page 111.

With regard to the prime minister of the King of Travancore it is resolved and agreed to recommend the Commandeur to observe the advice given by Mr. Moens (viz.) to make the acquaintance of the said minister, and to send him a small present occasionally and also to oblige him with little things he asks for.

Page 113.

The instructions of this Government contained in a special letter to Cochin dated 1st October 1771, defining to what extent the Commandeur may insist on what has been stipulated for in the contract with the King of Travancore (viz.) that after having supplied the whole quantity of pepper according to contract, a pass must be given to His Highness for every 300 candies; and also to what extent to push our claim that His Highness must accordingly supply pepper first, before he can obtain passes; must be kept secret.

Page 115.

Although the scheme for making the King of Travancore supply more pepper by buying up all the tobacco which Jaffnapatnam exports and then paying for the pepper not only in cash but also in tobacco, seems to this Government rather cumbersome, it is resolved and agreed to send an extract from the "Memoir" of Mr. Moens, so far as this point is concerned, to Ordinary Councillor Mr. William Falck, Governor of Ceylon, in order to invite His Worship's reflections upon this subject, when opportunity presents itself.

Page 116.

It is agreed to order the Commandeur van Angelbeek to take care that the pepper accounts of the King of Travancore and the advances made to His Highness are settled annually.

Page 117.

Should the King of Travancore renew his formal claims on the Mutucunu islands, the Commandeur shall conform himself to that which has been ordered on this subject by special letter of this Government dated 1st October 1771. In the meantime, this also must be kept secret.

Page 118.

And should he again urge his claims on the islands in question, our officers must remember to add to the Rs. 16,000 which the Company paid for them Rs. 7,000 on account of expenses incurred for the 3 paggers (stockades) constructed on them, and so to raise the sum to Rs. 23,000.

Page 124.

It is agreed to order the officials to take care and to pay particular attention, that the taxes on the Canarin Bazar, the Bazar of Pagodingo and Mattanchery must absolutely not be raised, but remain the same and be levied in accordance with what is laid down in the list supplied by king of Cochin, referred to in the Malabar resolution of 13th August 1772.

Page 125.

Since Mr. Moens thinks it advisable that the proposal of buying up the king of Cochin's right to half of import and export duties should be borne in mind, and since it is the opinion of his Worship that the king, if he gets into very great difficulties and is allowed to do it, would certainly like to sell that right, but that if he were prevented by the king of Travancore, the latter in that case ought to be directly approached, it is agreed to order the Commandeur Van Angelbeck to make a note of this.

Page 126.

With regard to the suggestion of Mr. Moens that the Company might in good faith stop paying duty on the special or so called private trade which has been conducted for the last few years on this coast on the Company's account and the king of Cochin might then be persuaded to give up his right to half the duty; having taken into consideration:

That the conditions of the lease were drawn up at a time when no such private trade was conducted on behalf of the Company and that Art: 18 of the lease conditions, on which his Worship bases his argument, has no application, since the lease is of much older date than the trade.

That the king, before and during the time that ship authorities disposed of their "permitted" cargoes to private individuals, duly enjoyed the duties thereon, and hence cannot with any right be deprived of them by the introduction of a private trade which has been introduced for special reasons and by which, if duty were not paid on the goods so dealt with, the king would be deprived indirectly in an inadmissible manner of the business which private traders would otherwise have;

and since these people are excluded on account of the private trade of the Company, it is considered that on grounds of good faith, the payment of the ordinary duties on the "permitted" cargoes of the ship officers which are taken over for the Company, cannot and may not be refused and that the king of Cochin on the other hand in all fairness may insist upon his right of enjoying half the duty on them.

Page 134.

The special letter, dated 7th March 1717, written by Mr. Moens to this Government must be kept secret.

Page 139.

It is agreed that the Commandeur van Angelbeck be recommended, when opportunity presents itself, to try and make a map of the lands which the Company occupies in Malabar, in the manner proposed by Mr. Moens.

Page 147.

And to remember that every effort must be made to collect what is due from the Princes of Collastry to the Company, though it has been paid by the former Commandeur, Weijerman.

Page 149.

And no less to remember to collect the debts of the deceased Moorish ruler Ady Ragia should the times (although for the present there seems to be no likelihood of this) bring about a change; but without having recourse to force, at least for the present.

Page 164.

With regard to the making of an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nabob Hyder Ali, to which consent has already been given in secret letters, dated the 10th July of this year, to Ordinary Councillor Mr. Falck and to the Governor of Coromandel van Vlissingen, a further observation will be made in connection with the remark of Mr. Moens about the visible desire of the Nawab to make such an alliance that it must be done with the greatest caution, because we cannot bind ourselves longer than for such a period as war is going on between the State and England, and this will depend on the state of affairs in Europe, and so a condition must be made that when we are informed of the discontinuance of war in Europe and peace must be made here, it will be taken in the right spirit, an assurance being conveyed at the same time that care will be taken as far as possible of the interests of the allies of the Company.

Page 164.

At the same time it is agreed to recommend to his Worship van Angelbeek the observation of Mr. Moens to be on his guard at Cranganore and Aykotta in order to prevent the Nabob breaking through.

Page 166.

And also that he must take notice of the unfavourable description of his personal qualities and the view of Mr. Moens, that having the Company siding with him, he would treat it little better than he did the French, and could not be made use of for any other purposes than to advance his own interests and not those of the Company; and besides to use every precaution and care with regard to the Nabob.

Page 167.

Also to bear carefully in mind that he is an usurper and a tyrant and that after his death great revolutions are to be feared, and that on this account one cannot rely on his permanency except for so long as he lives.

Page 167.

And also to bear in mind that the Mahrattas might be set on him and he might be, if not crushed entirely by them, at least made small, and also to consider whether something could be done in this direction.

Page 169.

Furthermore if occasion presents itself to remember that if the Mahrattas make Hyder Ali subject to them, or reinstate the kings who formerly paid tribute to them, but whose dominions are now ruled by the Nabob, they might become the neighbours of the Company more or less.

Page 170.

The remark of Mr. Moens that the Maldive islanders are paid too little paid in Ceylon for their cowries to induce them to take them there in larger quantities will be conveyed to the Ceylon administration, an extract from his Worship's " Memoir " being forwarded.

Page 187.

The authority and right of the Company over the Roman church and church funds must be maintained, the Roman clergy being excluded, provided this is done with discretion and prudence.

Page 190.

If the poorhouse is unable to bear the maintenance of the sexton and precentor of the church of Cochin, it is resolved and agreed to supply the deficiency from the Company's funds, and to authorize Commandeur van Angelbeek to disburse the money.

It is agreed to require the Reformed Church Council of this town to supply two comforters of the sick for the forts of Coilan and Calicoylan, when they get them out from the Netherlands.

Page 205.

It is agreed to give the repairs of the fortifications on the Malabar coast out on contract henceforth and on such conditions as are laid down in Appendix No. 5 at the end of Mr. Moens' " Memoir ".

Page 208.

It is agreed to order Commandeur van Angelbeek to try to sell the scattered fields of the Company in the territory of Travancore, according to the proposal of Mr. Moens, to the king of Travancore, for a sum somewhat proportioned to the revenue, which the Company draws from them.

Page 211.

It is agreed to demand from Malabar another 100 head of sepoys besides the 120 who are still wanting to make up the previous indent.

Page 214.

The private collection of pepper being now introduced, it is agreed to authorise Commandeur van Angelbeek to continue it, if he also trades with private traders, but only on condition that he does not purchase a greater quantity than he can dispose of quickly at a profit, and with the recommendation that the purchases should be made secretly.

Page 216.

It is agreed to recommend the administration to try again whether it would be possible to collect Surat piece-goods for the Company through the northern merchants, especially now that, in all probability, the Company's factory at Surat is in the hands of the English.

Page 217.

On account of the conditions of the present time it is resolved and agreed to order Commandeur van Angelbeck to correspond with Mr. Falck, the Governor of Ceylon, regarding the sale of pepper on the Malabar Coast, and to authorize him to dispose of so much of this article as will not be required in Ceylon during the present uncertainty about the despatch of ships to the Netherlands with cargoes for home.

Page 218.

With regard to the prices of the goods in the various places named by Mr. Moens it is agreed to order the administration to forward successive advices here in order that we may "casu quo" regulate ourselves by them when despatching merchandise.

Page 219.

In the same way it is agreed to order the administration to furnish this Government with a statement of the different kinds of piece-goods which are imported by the Bombaras, and also of the pieces for which these cloths can be obtained in a few parcels, and how much "casu quo" might be obtained if wanted.

Page 220.

It is also agreed to order the administration to forward a sample of the saltpetre which the *sibars* of Rajapur as a rule import, the price for which this "silt" can be bought being noted.

Page 226.

With regard to the taking over of the "permitted" cargoes of the ship authorities for the Company it is agreed to leave that on the same footing as it is, recommending the Commandeur to go to work in the matter according to the best of his judgment.

Page 243.

In order to be quite precise and to prevent a wrong conception, Commandeur van Angelbeck will be informed that the contrary of the power of staying execution, for well-grounded reasons, of criminal sentences, which has been given to the Administrators in Chief, is not properly described as "approval" of the case and sentence, but that the Administrators have only to "assent" to the execution being carried out to show that it appears to them that there are no reasons why the execution of the sentence should be stayed.

Page 244.

In spite of the good object Mr. Moens has in making his remark that an Administrator might in the cases quoted ask for the papers in civil suits just to look at them, Commandeur van Angelbeck will be instructed to make use of this device, in itself really inadmissible, as little as possible, the more so because such a demand for the records would not only be useless but it would also include notable prejudice to the judge who, the sentence having been passed, is undoubtedly *functus officio* but upon whom however, in so far as it is within the judge's province, lies, if no appeal is made, the execution of the sentence pronounced, which is an important part of his jurisdiction, and further if appeal is made, he is only bound to send the case to the judge "ad quem" in order if he thinks it advisable, to maintain and to answer for his sentence to him.

Page 244.

Further, it being noted that Mr. Moens by the "Fatalia prosecutionis" really means the "Fatalia appellationis", to give relief against the lapse of these "Fatalia" belongs to the judge of appeal, because this is a matter in respect of which the party must be heard and which must be determined before an "application" can be made and such suits are, as usually follows, decided by "interination".

It belongs to the judge of appeal alone to grant "acta pro Deo" and in these suits the adverse party is sometimes heard previously according to circumstances because he may be considerably prejudiced.

Page 244.

Although, when appeal has been refused in civil cases, an administrator may from motives of humanity inform the losing party that the way of appeal nevertheless lies open by direct application to the judge "ad quem", yet it might be inconsistent with the character of an

Administrator in Chief; for if such information is given in the case of an interlocutory sentence which is alterable at the final hearing and from which accordingly no appeal is possible, such action would not be consistent with the charge laid on Administrators in Chief in their commission to see that right and justice is administered among the people both in criminal and civil cases.

Persons who have to obey a sentence which has been pronounced and also those who have gained something by it, must, in case there is an obscurity in the sentence, ask the judge for an explanation, and it is only in case of his refusal that an administrator may recommend the judge to remove the obscurity and to make the sentence clear.

Page 244.

The grant of concessions such as " relief substantial ", " cession ", " respite ", " attermination " and others which are usually granted with " committimus " to the judge would not in any case appertain to the Administrator in Chief only, but the officials in the out-factories will be very strictly limited in regard to granting of the same and instructed to accord such concessions as little as possible and only for very good reasons.

Page 245.

In criminal cases the procedure must, in conformity with the law, start as " extraordinary ", but the judge, when he " returns " the application and the documents by which the fiscal tries to justify the same, must decide, with all possible care, whether the crime is clearly proved or whether further proofs and elucidation are necessary, and whether the facts constitute a case which should be proceeded with as " extraordinary " or give the accused the right to be tried " ordinarily "; and since clear and lucid instructions for judges of out-factories will be found in the 4th part of the rough scheme, or manner of proceeding, composed by the late Mr. Louis Taillefort, Councillor Extraordinary, the same should as far as possible serve for information and guidance.

Page 245

If the fiscal were required to start the procedure " ordinario modo " when it appears from the informations obtained by him that the accused takes refuge in evasions, which require examination, it would tend to the prejudice of the fiscal and of the rights of the Company.

Moreover the " extraordinary " procedure was prescribed in order that enquiries might be made quickly and publicly about all the details of the case, but if the case is taken up " ordinario [modo] " the examination of the accused ceases and also the confronting of him either with his accomplices or with the witnesses, and it is just by these means that the most effective enquiry can be made about the evasions with which the accused tries to help himself. The Commandeur should always observe this precaution.

Page 247.

By a number of orders laid down from time to time both by the Worshipful Seventeen and this Government regarding the administration of justice, it has been provided already that justice must have its free course and must not be hampered by any political measures, so long as the judge exercises his functions in a proper manner and cases are disposed of as justice requires and every one obtains justice quickly, well and conclusively; to which attention must be paid by the authorities, and so in the first place by the Administrators in Chief; for it is this that properly speaking is prescribed and recommended to an Administrator in his commission; accordingly the watchful eye, which an Administrator is bound to keep on these things, must not intimidate or create obstacles; but when a really bad administration of justice requires to be provided against, then it will be the duty of an Administrator in Chief to enquire carefully and, with advice of his Council, to concert the necessary redress; but the matter is so delicate that recourse must not be had to such measures save in cases of extreme necessity and with all possible prudence; which prudent circumspection will be recommended to Commandeur van Angelbeek.

Page 248.

Although the evils which may result from employing native interpreters is a defect which can hardly be remedied and which concern especially the judge and the public prosecutor, Commandeur van Angelbeek will be ordered to keep two European boys, who have been ordered by Mr. Moens to learn the native language, and to use them as interpreters, as is the custom here also, with instructions to propose to this Government what pay should be given to them from time to time.

Page 248.

Again it is resolved and agreed to recommend to the Commandeur van Angelbeek for his information and guidance the further contents of this memoir, upon which no special comments have been made, or orders passed, together with the foregoing remarks and resolutions.

Page 248.

And lastly it is resolved to thank Mr. Moens for the trouble taken in writing this paper; the thanks of the Government being accordingly hereby conveyed to his Worship.

Batavia, in the Castle, 10th September 1781,

By order of the Right Worshipful the Governor-General and Council of India.

H. Goetbloed,
Secretary.

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